



Urban Planning principles as mechanisms for improving informal trading opportunities:

A case study of inner-city Johannesburg

By

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Honours Degree in City and Regional Planning

University of Cape Town

Dissertation presented as part fulfilment of the degree of Masters of City
and Regional Planning

In the School of Architecture, Planning and Geomatics

University of Cape Town

November 2017



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Acknowledgements

I would like to sincerely express gratitude to the following:

My heavenly father

I would like to thank my Lord, Jesus Christ for displaying his grace in my life and granting me the strength to get to this point.

My mother, family and friends

I am grateful to my mother, for her support and encouragement to seek and accomplish my goals. I would also like to thank my brothers, family members, and especially my friends (who have become like my family) for their continuous support and guidance when needed.

My Supervisor – Tiaan Meyer

I would like to thank my supervisor, Tiaan Meyer, for his continuous guidance and assistance in working through the various aspects of this research.

UCT Staff and Support

I would also like to thank Tanja Winkler and Nobukhosi Ngwenya for their advice and words of encouragement received throughout the year. I would also like to extend a special thank you to Kate Peart for effectively and efficiently editing my written piece of work.

My funding support – NRF and UCT Need Award

I would like to extend heartfelt appreciation to the National Research Funding board and UCT need award committee, for the funds granted to assist me this year to complete the research.

Research participants

I would like to thank each and every participant who had set time aside to be interviewed for my study. Your efforts, time commitment and knowledge sharing has been really appreciated.

MCRP class of 2017

I would like to thank each and every member of my class for the encouragement and support shown over the course of the past two years. I have enjoyed working on projects with each one of you and have learnt a lot through our conversations.

Abstract

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Urban Planning principles as mechanisms for improving informal trading opportunities:
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3 November 2017

The inner city of Johannesburg presents a high number of informal traders who seek to make use of urban public space in their livelihood strategies. However, the forces driving the performance of informal traders have not led to positive development of opportunities for traders. Operation Clean Sweep in 2013, was a means of strongly enforcing the informal trading by-laws and removing traders from the pavements and public spaces in the inner-city Johannesburg. Regulation of informal trade has been conducted by the progressively formulated informal trading policy, however, it possesses ineffective implementation strategies.

This research addresses the driving forces that affect informal traders' opportunities and the issues that arise from these present forces. The three driving forces which are of greatest impact on informal traders and are investigated in this research, institutions, regulatory and infrastructural forces. The study shows that informal traders experience complex dual realities affected by these driving forces and their need to engage in the informal economy to meet their livelihood strategies. The research seeks to address the use of urban public space by informal traders in meeting their needs, while understanding how these spaces are shaped and determined. The study aims at evaluating the performance of three case study areas located within the inner-city Johannesburg. The performance is measured in terms of meeting the needs of informal traders and providing opportunities for their economic and social development, while ensuring that the needs of the collective public are addressed as well.

The background reading and desktop study were used to establish research questions before conducting interviews. These interviews were conducted with informal traders, government officials, private sector, NGOs and civil society. Using case study and discourse analysis methods, and the previously mentioned techniques, this study addresses the issues that informal traders face in light of the driving forces. It also examines how these have shaped the performance of urban public space in meeting the needs of informal traders as well as the collective public. The study aims to address these issues with urban planning principles and supplements these with policy recommendations to improve opportunities afforded to informal traders. While the recommendations put forward in this study require a long-term plan, such a plan also requires improved integration between governing departments and managing bodies. This research aims to improve this integration and governing structure, through recommending that increased responsibility for informal trading be taken up by the Johannesburg City Council Development Planning Department.

Key Words: Informal Traders, Pedestrians, Urban Public Space, Urban Planning Principles, Opportunities, Performance Dimensions, Policy, Institutions, Infrastructure, Regulatory

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Acronyms

CIDs	City Improvement Districts
CoJ	City of Johannesburg
CRUM	Citizen Relations and Urban Management
CUBES	Centre for Urbanism and Built Environment Studies
DED	Department of Economic Development
GIDA	Gauteng Informal Development Alliance
JDA	Johannesburg Development Agency
JICP	Johannesburg Inner City Partnership
JMPD	Johannesburg Metropolitan Police
JPC	Johannesburg Property Company
MTC	Metropolitan Trading Company
RIDs	Retail Improvement Districts
SAITF	South African Informal Traders Forum
SALGA	South African Local Government Association
SANTRA	South African National Traders and Retailers Alliance
SAPS	South African Police Service
SDF	Spatial Development Plan
SERI	Socio-Economic Rights Institute of South Africa
SMME	Small Medium and Micro-Enterprise
SPII	Studies in Poverty and Inequality Institute

CHAPTER 1



Introduction to Research

This paper stems from the social and economic challenges that informal traders face on the streets in the inner-city of Johannesburg. Figure 1.1 displays the global and local location of the inner-city of Johannesburg. The challenges informal traders face (while not exclusive to) are paid attribute to the restrictive regulations passed down through the Johannesburg City Council institutions.

“The restrictive approach might have fluctuated over time, but in 2014 the trend for the DED was to further restrict street trading in the inner-city of Johannesburg, arguing that the City has been to ‘liberal’ with granting registration.”

(CoJ, 2014 as cited in Benit-Gbaffou, 2015:83)

The Johannesburg City Council’s reactions to tame informal trading activities are reactive, and do not provide meaningful alternatives to economic and social opportunities for informal traders (Benit-Gbaffou, 2015). Current regulation and control, or attempt thereof, does not provide useful alternatives to the use of urban public space by informal traders. Nor do these systems provide sustainable alternatives for informal trading activities, as livelihood strategies.

“The vision imagined by Operation Clean Sweep was for instance to severely restrict trading sites and relocate them into markets, including ‘linear markets’ and ‘short pedestrianized streets.’”

(CoJ, 2013 as cited in Benit-Gbaffou, 2017:19)

These restrictions and controls exerted on informal traders are driving forces that change the magnitude and direction of informal trading realities. Informal trader

Figure 1.1: Maps locating the study area (Source: Adapted on Photoshop from: Radiolab, 2016; Wikipedia, n.d; Sibanda, Selvarajan and Tekere, 2017)

realities are that they operate in the informal economy because they are poor and unemployed. Therefore, they make use of the social and economic value in urban public space. The forces that drive informal trading activities are institutional, regulation and infrastructural forces. While these forces exerted on informal traders seek to have positive outcomes, they are minimum in representativeness. There are aspects of these forces that are affecting informal trader's opportunities for development and improvement.



Image 1.1: No trading signage as one of the physical means of regulating informal trading in the inner-city of Johannesburg (Authors Own, 2017)

1.1 Background to the Study

There has been a rise in global consensus on working to support informal trading activities as a key contribution to livelihood strategies and economic development (Benit-Gbaffou, 2015). According to Olgu (2014) informal traders are grassroots-based individuals or groups, whose business practices are based on street trading or selling in market spaces. Informal trade as an economic activity was first seen to be significant to urban economic life by Hart (1973). This followed the recognition of informal trade as an important part of the economy by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) (Skinner, 2008). The ILO reported that informal trading can create more jobs (ILO 1972:5, as cited in Moser 1978). However, in South Africa during the years of Apartheid, anti-street trading measures were introduced to prevent informal trade from taking place (Skinner, 2008a). These included the payment of excessive fines and confiscation of goods to prevent and discourage informal trading (Skinner, 2008a). These practices persist today, even though the trade has been accepted as a positive economic

activity by national and at a lesser degree by local governments (Zack, Charlton, Harrison and Jenkins, 2014).

The informal trade can be defined as those who are self-employed or employed by owners of small businesses, who do not pay rent or contribute to taxation (Lund, Nicholson and Skinner, 2000; Olgu, 2014). However, within inner-city spaces as seen in inner-city of Johannesburg that informal traders are required to be registered to make use of the space. Informal traders are defined as those who are unorganised and resource poor, who engage in the informal economy for increasing their own household income (Olgu, 2014). Yet, the informal traders are expected to pay rental fees for the use of the space, with little to no assurance of better opportunities. This could be seen as the real reality of informal trading activities.

This study examines informal trader's' opportunities and their development thereof within the inner-city of Johannesburg. There are two reasons which have led to the topic chosen and the location, these include a less formal and formal reasoning. Firstly, a less formal interest in the topic and location, sparked through personal experience in the complex spaces within the inner-city of Johannesburg. There are often negative public perceptions of informal trade and traders, perceptions held largely through lack of knowledge about how informal trade operates. This can result in a paradox: the perception that informal trading leads to congestion, crime and grime (Zack et al., 2014), whilst at the same time providing opportunities for economic growth and livelihood strategies (Lund et al., 2000; Rakodi, 2002).

Secondly, a formal interest was sparked by Operation Clean Sweep of October 2013. Operation Clean Sweep was launched by former Executive Mayor Parks Tau, who requested the Johannesburg Metropolitan Police Department to remove informal traders from pavements and markets in the inner-city of Johannesburg area (Zack et al., 2014). This was an attempt by the City to regain control over city spaces from the informal sector (Benit-Gbaffou, 2017). Informal Traders' Organisations which challenged the City on the grounds of their actions being unconstitutional, found victory in the Constitutional Court in 2014 (Benit-Gbaffou, 2016). It has been four years since Operation Clean Sweep and three years since the Traders' Organisations' victory against the City. However, the current regulation and management of informal traders, while effective in some parts of the inner-city of Johannesburg, are not in other parts.

The City of Johannesburg's regulation of informal trade has consisted of restrictive by-laws and the harsh enforcement of these by-laws. There are also policies used to regulate informal traders, which contain little or no proactive recommendations for the development of informal trade (Benit-Gbaffou, 2017). The City's current informal trade policy has seen implementation challenges, due to the lack

of clarity in interpretation and a lack of proactive recommendations for solving contemporary issues faced by informal traders (Benit-Gbaffou, 2016). According to Dewar and Watson (1990) policies are informed by location, structure, form and administration. The current policies do not take into consideration the integration of these aspects within informal trading spaces, while neglecting sustainable economic development for informal traders. According to Charlton et al. (2014), the current informal trading policies neglect the economic aspects of informal trade. This is despite the fact that informal trade is the responsibility of the Department of Economic Development (DED), within the City of Johannesburg.

For the last 30 years, an increase in informal trading activities on the streets in inner-city of Johannesburg has added to the pressures on public infrastructure and services (Charlton et al., 2014). The response of municipal planning and policy has associated informal trading with congestion, littering and even crime especially within in the inner-city of Johannesburg (Dinath and Zack, 2014). However, this congestion, littering and levels of crime can itself be traced back to the inadequate urban management of the inner-city space (Benit-Gbaffou, 2015). The interaction between informal traders and the City remains minimal (Zack et al., 2014). Informal trader's' connections to the City has largely been through the enforcement of the law by the Johannesburg Metro Police Department (JMPD).

In 1992, the Central Johannesburg Partnership (CJP) was launched to establish and meet business interests within the inner-city of Johannesburg (Zack, in Crush and Chikanda, 2015). Through CJP, the City Improvement Districts (CIDs) were established. CIDs were a means of partnership with the City and private sector, largely to manage and regulate informal trade. This management tool was designed to shift management to the private sector, which would create market spaces for informal traders. While CIDs have been a means of managing informal trade, they have also been focused on meeting the mandate set out in the City's informal trading policy. The aim of this policy was to locate informal traders within linear-market spaces. The City thus has multiple measures in place to control and restrict informal trade, with few measures in place to plan long-term strategies of social and economic development for informal traders.

1.2 Defining the Study Issue

The study issue is characterised by: informal trade within the inner-city of Johannesburg being regulated, managed and facilitated through multiple driving forces. These forces shape the identity of informal trade within the inner-city of Johannesburg. These are institutional, regulatory (mainly seen through policy) and infrastructural forces. These forces determine the extent of opportunities made available for informal traders, while determining the level of justice and equality that is carried

out when planning for informal traders. Informal traders make use of urban public space that is influenced by the same forces.

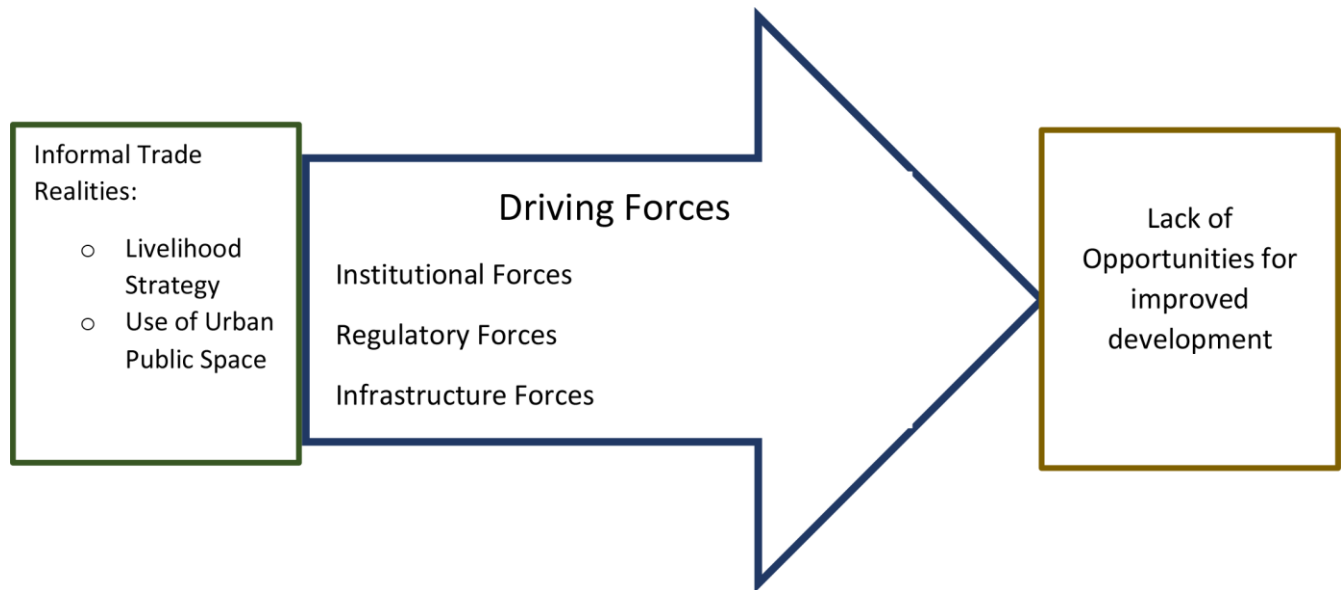


Figure 1.2: Key Study Issues (Authors own, 2017)

Informal traders are those who are poor and unemployed, and who have made a choice to use their time and efforts in finding a means of generating an income. Informal traders make use of urban public space to conduct their trade as livelihood strategies. Figure 1.2 is a conceptual display of the driving forces that direct informal trader's realities. These forces have generally had a negative impact on informal traders. Therefore, sustainable practices as a means of support from the City in the provision of services, regulation and management of informal traders would provide for better opportunities. Currently, the regulations that govern informal trade are not proactive in its approach (Benit-Gbaffou, 2017). In addition to which the provision of infrastructure is mono-functional, while in other cases have not been provided. The key issue affecting informal trader's opportunities for development has been the integration and improvement in the collaboration between these forces. In addition to which there has been a lack of key values guiding the decision-making, regulation, management and facilitation of informal traders through these forces. This study seeks to identify how these forces have been affecting informal trader's' opportunities, by identifying key factors of these driving forces that need to adjusted.

1.3 Defining the Study Rationale

Informal traders lack exposure to positive reinforcement, in order to gain opportunities of positive development. In the inner-city of Johannesburg, the commerce and rush on the streets provide opportune locations for informal trading activities. This economic sector provides a means of gaining

a means of provision for themselves and their families and supporting a livelihood strategy of the unemployed and poor.

1.3.1 Why focus the study on informal trader's' opportunities?

The opportunities for growth and fair chances should be the cornerstone for the development of policy documents and institutional governance. According to Benit-Gbaffou (2017) there is vast academic literature on informal trading policy and literature on informal trader's' grassroots resistance from below (counter forces, to the key driving forces addressed in this paper). While this may be the case, there is a gap in understanding the internal practices, constraints and choices pertaining to informal trading (Benit-Gbaffou, 2017). This gap extends to the lack of understanding and analysis on how the state works in the Global South, especially in relation to informal trade (Chattejee, 2004). In addition, there is a shortage of connection in academic and municipal discourse on the integration of informal trading with other street and urban activities. Generating opportunities for informal traders should be of importance throughout the bureaucratic system of planning and development (Dewar, 2005). This provides a means of inclusion and growth for the most vulnerable operators of the economic sector (Dewar, 2005).

There are minimal recordings on the specific opportunities that are made available for informal traders. There are large bodies of literature on informal trade as an activity that increases and improves livelihood strategies of the poor and unemployed. This is seen in the work completed by, Rakodi, 2000; Benit-Gbaffou, 2015; Benit-Gbaffou, 2016; Lund, Nicholson and Skinner, 2000. However, there are other opportunities that the poor and unemployed experience in the informal economy. These opportunities include the access to income and limited use of start-up capital (Willemse, 2011). While these are limited and subjective, the opportunities among traders vary. In comparison, there are informal traders who through various reasons have better opportunities compared to others. Informal trader activities are a means of ensuring basic needs are met. In this they struggle and suffer under cycles of poverty with which they are barely able to cope (Willemse, 2011; Skinner, 2008).

The focus of this study will be on identifying and addressing the factors that affect informal trader's' opportunities within the inner-city of Johannesburg. Various angles on informal trade have been taken before through previous bodies of literature. There has been little concern on how factors affecting informal traders could be addressed to improve their current, and possible future, conditions. Such action, while a means of socially and economically assisting informal trader's', could also assist the City in its management and oversight of informal trade.

1.3.2 Why highlight urban planning principles to improve opportunities for informal traders?

Land use management provides a means of regulating and controlling different usages of land and spaces (Harvey, 1973). This is an especially active role in the management of urban space. Urban space is shaped through the spatial distribution of activities and people. In terms of the management and governance of urban space, there are various institutional bodies. These vary in the specification and purpose of their actions. Through urban planning principles as a means of directing land use management, institutional management and the distribution of activities, coordination between different spaces can be achieved.

Informal trade can be identified as an economic or social activity. There are multiple aspects of informal trade that could be improved through urban planning. In making use of urban planning principles, improvements could be made to the performance of informal trade, while also improving activities that are related and connected to informal trade. Urban planning principles could provide guidance and a framework to which regulation, infrastructure planning/provision and institutional actions on informal trade are based. While the topic of informal trade is complex, this study aims to provide insight into how urban planning principles could be used to improve opportunities for informal traders.

1.4 Defining the Study Objectives

The main objective of this study is to identify the constraints and forces that have hindered informal trader's opportunities for improved meaningful development.

- The study will identify the types of opportunities that informal traders would like to be given, while providing a platform for understanding the current opportunities afforded to informal traders.
- This study seeks to highlight three forces that drive and affect informal trader's' opportunities.
 - Institutional forces that drive informal trade: these will be highlighted by addressing three main institutional structures. These include; local government, private sector and civil society. While these are interlinked at various levels, they do play functional roles within the informal economy as individual role players.
 - Regulation plays a fundamental role in shaping informal trade activities, while also determining the distribution and coordination of informal trading activities. This is completed directly, through the implementation of the informal trading policy. This study aims to unpacking the impacts that regulation plays in hindering or promoting informal trading opportunity.

- Infrastructure is also a force affecting informal trade. In its presence and absence, it has not been able to fully meet the needs of informal traders.
- This study aims to make use of these above-mentioned forces in establishing what the factors are that affect informal traders. These factors are elements contributing to the driving forces affecting informal traders. The research objective can be framed as Russian dolls, with multiple layers. First, an understanding of informal trader's realities is required. Second, unpacking the actions of the driving forces and how these actions come about. Thirdly, to understand what specific elements of these driving forces have affected informal traders, to focus on key influencing factors. Finally, using performance dimensions as a means of drawing up urban planning principles. These will be used to address the key issues affecting informal trader's opportunities.
- In addressing and providing recommendations to improve these realities, this study aims to guide decision and policy making. The objective of this research is to provide institutional, regulatory and infrastructural recommendations. In addition, the study will establish how urban planning principles could be used in establishing practical recommendations that could enhance and improve informal trading opportunities.
- Through interviews with informal traders, this study will highlight personal and day-to-day issues and constraints that challenge traders. The research seeks to provide different perspectives of informal trading realities in the inner-city of Johannesburg. This will be done using three case studies, which are introduced later in this paper.

1.5 Research Question

This research will look to answer these main research questions:

What are the factors affecting informal trader's opportunities for positive development within urban public space in the inner city of Johannesburg?

How can urban planning principles be employed to improve this?

In addressing these questions, the literature review will be used to identify and draw up subsidiary questions. These will be used to further unpack these main research questions.

1.6 The Structure of this Dissertation

Purpose of this chapter: Was to introduce the issue investigated in this research, as well as the main research questions of the study. The chapter first provided background to the study undertaken as means of contextualising the study. This was followed by the rationale for undertaking this study and the objectives of this research. This dissertation is a conventional masters-level research paper.

Chapter 2: Takes the reader through a systematic review of the research methods and techniques used to conduct and complete this research. This chapter displays the hidden assumptions and ethical considerations of the researcher, along with the limitations that were experienced in the collection of data for this research.

Chapter 3: Introduces the reader to three theoretical lenses used in this study. These are namely; urban planning principles perspective, livelihoods perspective and urban public space perspective. In the latter half of this chapter, the forces affecting informal traders are unpacked. This chapter ends with the subsidiary questions drawn from the literature review. These subsidiary questions have been drawn up to assist the research in answering the main research question.

Chapter 4: This chapter seeks to first introduce the case study areas and to contextualise these spaces. This chapter aims at displaying the findings and discussion on the driving forces affecting informal trade. The chapter also includes the discussion and analysis of interviews conducted with the City officials, private sector, civil society and the informal traders. This chapter ends by providing key finding as per the subsidiary research questions and identifying the key factors affecting informal trader's improvement of opportunities.

Chapter 5: This chapter represents the recommendations proposed for institutional, regulatory and infrastructural forces that drive informal trade. This chapter also seeks to address how best urban planning principles could be used to guide the improvement of opportunities afforded to informal traders within the inner-city of Johannesburg. The chapter moves on to answer the subsidiary questions of this study. This research write-up ends off with a proposal for future research as well as a final reflection and conclusion of the study.

CHAPTER 2

Research Methods

The Purpose of this Chapter

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the research methods and techniques that were adopted to answer the main and subsidiary research questions. This process was important in the development of the research, as there were layers of information that were only made available through this research process, as displayed in Figure 2.1. The chapter begins with an outline of the research process. This is followed by a discussion of the research methods used to gather new and existing knowledge that would be used in answering the research questions. The chapter turns to a discussion on the research techniques and how the data has been analysed. Purposive sampling was used to obtain the sample. This was a process of choosing participants based on the particular needs of the research. The next section discusses the assumptions made about the research. This is followed by a discussion on the ethical considerations that the researcher had to address whilst conducting the research. The chapter concludes with the limitations to the research and data collection. Below is a figure representing research methods process.

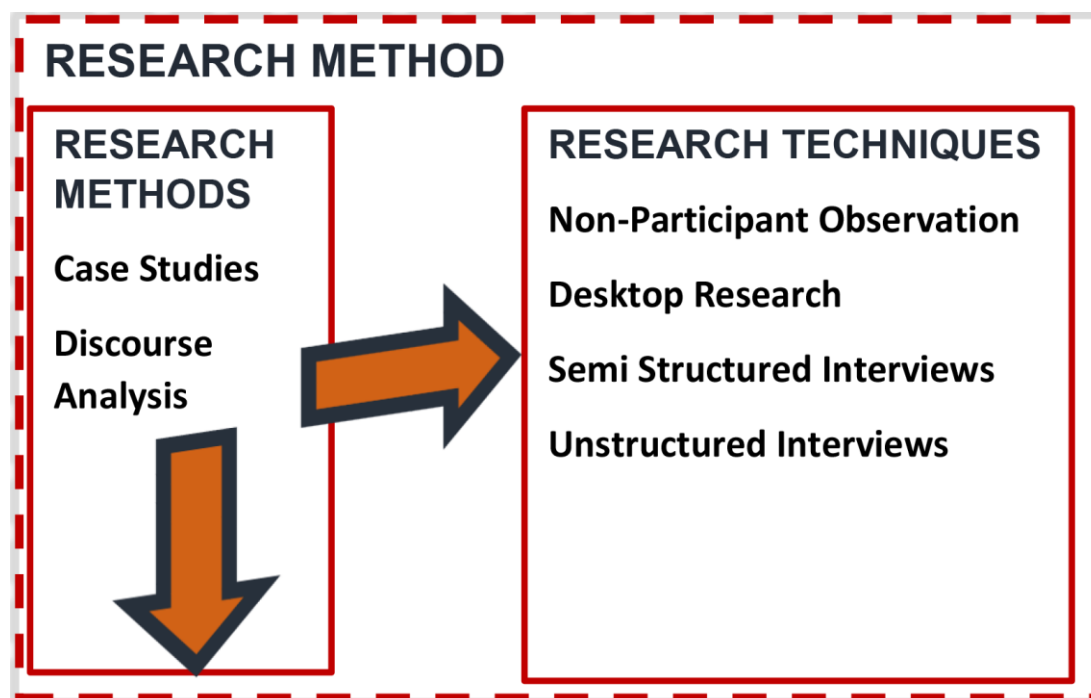


Figure 2.1: Diagram displaying Research Method Process (Authors own, 2017)

2.1 Research Process

Research can be defined as an analytical process of asking questions. As the researcher becomes more involved in the research, the questions gain focus and direction (Farthing, 2015); comparisons are made, and questions are verified or rejected with differences being measured (Bracken, 2014). In conducting the research these questions thus became more focused, as interviews were conducted, and knowledge was gained through research.

Given the sensitivity that was caused by Operation Clean Sweep in Johannesburg in 2013, there was a possibility of the researcher's efforts being rejected by officials and/or the traders. However, this was overcome using different research techniques and purposive sampling. Different entities working with informal traders were interviewed, from those working for the City, private entities and NGOs.

Interviews were also conducted with informal traders from Metro Mall, Delver Street and Kerk Street markets. Analysis was done by examining the attributes of different spaces in the same geographical location, and historical and political context, rather than comparing them.

2.2 Research Methods

In research, triangulation is the use of two or more research methods to check the validity of the research findings (Rowley, 2004). For this research, the methods involved were case study analysis and discourse analysis. Both methods were used in writing up the literature review and in providing contextual understanding before employing the research techniques that are discussed in the preceding section of this chapter.

2.2.1. Case Study

The case study method is used as a means of qualitatively researching contemporary events. It aims for deep and detailed investigation in answering the research questions (Rowley, 2004). According to Rowley (2004), case studies give rise to descriptive accounts of what is happening. The case study can be used to generate knowledge that includes aspects of reality, theory and policies. According to Farthing (2015) people live in multiple social realities. Consequently, there are multiple truths, based on an individual's interpretation of their social world. Informal traders come from a range of backgrounds and thus will have 'multiple truths'. It is for this reason that the case study method is used in this research. The case study method is exploratory (Eysenck, 1976) and allows the researcher to collect qualitative data in a natural setting (Yin, 2004; Flyvbjerg, 2006).

A strength of the case study method is that it uncovers the rich body of knowledge and experience that lie at the heart of a particular site/sites (Flyvbjerg, 2006). In making use of the case study method, observations and investigations are generated. These are then used in analysing and revealing

information that had not been articulated through literature or were previously unconsidered (Yin, 2004). In using the case study method, it was hoped that a broader understanding and investigation of the factors that affect informal traders in the inner-city of Johannesburg would be provided.

According to Yin (2004) once the case study is chosen the researcher could decide whether to use theory development to help develop his/her perspective. In choosing a case study, the researcher is able to measure the site against the theory. The researcher can change theories if the need arises (Yin, 2004). For example, in this research I adopted a set of planning principles. However, once in the field I noted that these planning principles might not have been the right fit for the research. These were therefore adjusted and changed. This has thus resulted in context-dependent knowledge, *which will be discussed in the following chapters.*

According to Flyvberg (2006) the case study method produces context-dependent knowledge. This has not always been the understanding of the case study method. In the past the case study method's inability to produce predictive theory was regarded as a limitation (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). However, according to Yin (1994) case studies are empirical as they investigate contemporary phenomena within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not evident. Therefore, it was felt that the case study method was the best option in assessing and investigating the factors that affect informal traders. These factors include aspects of a range of social, political and economic issues.

According to Flyvberg (2006) there may be misunderstandings when using case studies. There is a common belief that theoretical knowledge is of a higher value than practical knowledge. Through this research it became evident that human interactions can provide valuable knowledge, knowledge that may not emerge through theoretical information. Flyvberg (2006) states that one cannot generalise from a single case. This research used three case studies to provide the context for different parts of the city. The use of three case studies also assisted the elimination of generalization. Case studies have been shown to be useful for generating hypotheses at the beginning phases of the research process (Flyvberg, 2006). The choice of case studies shows a variety of uses beyond the initial research activities. Flyvberg (2006) mentioned that the method displays bias in terms of verification. However, this method does not show any more bias than other methods do. Nevertheless, this method does leave room for the researcher own bias (Yin, 2013). This was one of the reasons why a second method was used in this study – e.g. discourse analysis.

2.2.2 Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis is the evaluation of particular discourse bodies for the purpose of producing and displaying underpinning knowledge to the study. Different discourse has different impacts and intent.

This is due to discourses being a result of various ideas and from a diverse set of ideals (Fairclough 1995, as cited in Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002:61). This research seeks to examine and investigate two types of discourse, as a means of meeting the objectives that it has set out. The discourses used are namely academic discourse and political discourse. Political discourse is understood in a narrow sense, while academic discourse is a hybrid discourse (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002). Academic discourse is used to display particular actions and realities through theoretical lenses. While political discourse is based on politics, and the use of this in displaying a particular view of the governance structures (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002).

Discourse does not provide answers to problems: people do. However, discourse provides a framework of analysis, and the basis to understand a social setting (Campbell, 2002). The research focuses in the literature review on various bodies of knowledge that have been articulated and written up. These have been assessed in relation to answering the research question. However, rearticulating these does not provide an understanding on what or whom have been included or excluded from such frameworks. This discourse analysis will be used to analyse patterns within political and academic discourse (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002).

According to Campbell (2002) political and academic discourse analysis can challenge contemporary intellectual development and institutional frameworks. This method is advantageous as it can be used in every situation in which a connection between society and politics/policy is being made. This research method is useful in understanding current discourse that has been written and formulated on informal trade. According to Jorgensen and Phillips (2002) policy is a means of constructing society in a particular way that excludes other possible ways of being. Policy in its existence is narrow in writing and is the social organisation that is the outcome of continuous political processes (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002). This method would provide an understanding of how informal traders are constructed/affected by policy and political discourse. The use of academic discourse provides different and varied perspectives to the research. This has also been used to fill in the gaps of knowledge within the research. A limitation in making use of this research method has been the biases to interpretation that the author might show. However, this limitation has been addressed through the analysis of two types of discourse. These were used to provide grounds for sound interpretations of reality and knowledge.

2.3 Research Techniques

The section discusses the research techniques used to collect data. The research techniques include; semi-structured interviews, unstructured interviews, desktop research and non-participant observation. These research techniques are a means of providing qualitative findings, that would

provide the basis of the analytical and descriptive approach in answering the main and subsidiary research questions of this paper.

2.3.1 Semi Structured Interviews

The semi-structured interview is a research technique that probes the subject matter through a set of questions (Given, 2008). This interview structure encourages a dialogue that is channelled using the predetermined set of questions. A degree of flexibility can be achieved as the interviews unfold in a conversational manner that offers the participant the chance to explore issues he/she feels are important (Clifford, Cope, Gillespie and French, 2016).

The questions used in the research were used to evaluate the current realities of informal traders within the case study area, against proactive performance dimensions. These performance dimensions were used as criteria to evaluate the case study urban space in which informal traders operate. *The performance dimensions were drawn up and discussed in the literature review of this study.* These interview questions were used to understand what the issues are that affect the performance of informal traders in the inner-city of Johannesburg.

The semi-structured interview relies heavily on the interaction between the interviewee and the interviewer (Clifford et al., 2016). Once the interviewee understands the purpose of the study, he/she could answer questions with more detail, which is useful for the study findings. This also increases comfort for both the researcher and the interviewee. It also allows room for follow up questions to be asked. These interviews were recorded with the interviewee's permission and consent. The recordings were later transcribed, analysed and verified against other interviews and information gathered. In some cases, where consent to record was not given, notes on the interviewees' responses were taken. A limitation to this technique is that in a few cases the interviewee had a restricted amount of time set aside for the interview. Therefore, key questions had to be asked right at the beginning of the interview. This left less opportunity to really engage and explore various issues.

One of the aims of employing this research technique was to gain an understanding on who the key role players are and how they affect and coordinate informal trade activities within the Johannesburg institutional structure. A second aim was to interview informal traders themselves, to gain their perspective on how and what issues affect their opportunities. In practice, the interviews were more unstructured –rather than semi-structured – in nature. This is further discussed in the next section.

From these interviews, knowledge and information gained assisted the researcher in different ways. These included the gaining of knowledge from different perspectives in order to generate the

discussion and findings for this study. The semi structured interviews conducted are displayed in table 2.1.

Interviewee	Position	Company/organisation	Date	Duration of interview
Tiiso Masipa	Planning and Urban Development Administrator	Afhco, and previous employed by Urban Genesis Management. Who have since been liquidated	11/08/2017	60 minutes
Anne Steffany	Director	The Johannesburg Inner City Partnership	9/08/2017	90 minutes
Irene Mafune	Regional Director	CRUM, Citizen Relations and Urban Management, Region F	7/08/2017	90 minutes
Brian Phaalloh	Secretary	South African Informal Traders Forum	7/08/2017	60 minutes
Matthew Jackson	Development Facilitator	Johannesburg Development Agency, JDA	7/08/2017	75 minutes
Dennis Webster	Researcher	Studies in Poverty and Inequality Institute, SPII, and previous employed at Socio-Economic Rights Institute, SERI.	26/07/2017	45 minutes
Patience Rezaut	Informal Trader	Metro Mall	24/07/2017	45minutes
Omoregie Chikie	Informal Trader	Kerk Street	24/07/2017	75 minutes
Nicky Pingo	Development Facilitator, the inner city	Johannesburg Development Agency, JDA	21/07/2017	60 minutes
- (Anonymity requested)	-	Spatial Transformation Department	21/07/2017	60 minutes
Douglas Cohen	Executive Manager: Planning and Strategy	Johannesburg Development Agency, JDA	11/07/2017	75 minutes

Table 2.1: Indicating interviewees for semi-structured interviews (Authors own, 2017)

In addition to the interviews, electronic mail conversations were held due to the limitation of time spent in Johannesburg to conduct the research. In addition to this it had taken time to get hold of participants to be interviewed. Therefore, those who were unavailable to meet during the time that field work was conducted, had agreed to answer questions through email. The respondents, even though structured, answered these emails, selectively. Some of the respondents did not answer all the questions asked and provided additional information that was not asked for in the initial email.

2.3.2 Unstructured Interviews

Unstructured interviews are a means of shaping individual situations and context of the interview structure (Qu and Dumay, 2011). This is a means of creating a space in which the interviewee is relaxed, and perhaps in their preferred space (Qu and Dumay, 2011). In this research, all the unstructured interviews were unplanned but arose opportunistically during the process of information gathering (Farthing, 2015). While semi-structured interviews are conversational, they do have structure (Clifford et al., 2016). Unstructured interviews are also conversational relating to the research, without any predetermined questions. This type of interview was used to gain additional information on the experiences of informal traders. It was necessary to employ this technique to interview informal traders. After it, become clear that many traders were unwilling to participate in a formal interview. *This is discussed in the findings chapter.*

The researcher made the effort of visiting the spaces to gain permission to conduct interviews. However, the informal traders bluntly refused to be interviewed, despite a clear introduction to the study and its purpose. The researcher then had to go back into the study areas on another day. This was done rather informally without pen and paper, to rather have informal interviews and conversations with informal traders. Trust was gained by purchasing items from the traders. This was a means of starting up what became unstructured interviews. (In a few cases items were not bought as traders were willing to engage in an unstructured way).

Once a rapport had been established, more information was shared, with the informal trader allowing the researcher to ask more questions. Each time a customer or potential customer approached the trader's stall, the conversation would be halted by the researcher to respect the informal trader's business. It was important for the researcher to keep in mind the key questions and main aim of these conversations, and to draw out information pertaining to the research first before allowing for more flexible conversation. This was because many of the conversations/unstructured interviews ended abruptly when the informal trader felt like ending it. Interviewees could leave the interview at any time. With the semi-structured interviews, the interviewees were aware of the time commitment and agreed upon this before. With unstructured interviews, there was less of a time commitment.

2.3.3 Desktop Research

“Much data in planning research is generated from people, but publications, administrative records, maps, plans, diagrams and laws can all be seen as data sources for research”

(Farthing, 2015:79)

The interviews provided a means of gaining qualitative primary data for answering the research question put forward by this paper. However, desktop research or the use of secondary data, is another technique of gaining additional information. Making use of this technique in combination with semi-structured interviews, allows for the documents and plans referred to in the interview to be used in the research. The data sources can be used in conjunction with one another (Farthing, 2015). Through cross-referencing and making use of secondary data, the researcher can contextualise understand and explain the laws and plans that govern public urban space and in turn the spaces that informal traders occupy. This technique was also used to investigate and examine the planning principles that the City is currently making use of.

2.3.4 Non-participant Observation

According to Rowley (2004) the researcher undertakes non-participant observation when observing interactions and actions as they happen without external stimuli or involvement from the researcher. Recording such observations made through listening and watching, should result in as little as possible of the researcher's own interpretations being made of what is happening (Fellow and Liu, 2015). The researcher had put time aside during site visits to observe interactions, behaviour patterns and to consider how people make use of the space. The researcher made use of sketches, notes and when possible photographs. Non-participant observation is a good means of visually understanding the dynamics and the relationship, or lack thereof, that people have with the space.

A limitation of this technique is that it leaves room for the researchers own interpretation of events. Therefore, making sure that own bias does not shape this data collection process is important. The researcher made use of days when interviewing to conduct observations, while also coming back to the case study areas to conduct observations on days that interviews were not conducted. This enabled the researcher to observe interactions, actions and the use of space when traders were not necessarily conscious of the observation-taking place.

The sketches and photographs taken on the site walks, were complemented through aerial photography of the site areas. The sketches included cross sections of streets, conceptual sketches and annotated sketches. Such visual representations of the site as well as proposed recommendations were essential to displaying urban planning principles. This was especially important in the proposed

changes. Sketches provide a visual display of the change in landscape and physical structures of a site (Carmona et al., 2003), and so the research sketches were used to display current and proposed physical infrastructure, roof storages, lighting and pedestrian routes. This was especially the case when photographs were not available.

Mapping was used to record the position of traders in relation to formal shops and amenities that informal traders need, such as transportation. The maps also included motorised and non-motorized movement paths. A considerable and time-consuming technical limitation to this was that the researcher could not obtain all the shapefiles needed to generate the maps through Geographical Information System (GIS). The alternative was Google Maps and the Gauteng City-Region Observatory (GCRO). In making use of these tools, different layers were unable to be switched off in the same way that GIS would enable. In the end, a compromise was reached by using yet another programme, Photoshop, and the generation of maps on these platforms, the researcher adapted the maps on photoshop.

2.4 Sampling

Sampling is the process of choosing actual data sources from a larger set of possibilities (Given, 2008). The first step is to narrow that set of possibilities for the research by defining the population that will help to answer the research questions. This resulted in the population chosen from the case study sites, City officials and private sector, who manage and regulate informal trade. This is known as purposive sampling, and also as a non-probability sampling procedure, in which the participants are chosen through the research needs (Given, 2008; McIntyre, Lopiano, Morse, Amin, Oberg, Young and Nuzhdin, 2011).

These sampling techniques have disadvantages and advantages, which were experienced in the research process. The purposive sampling process can be quite subjective, and the selection criteria could be influenced by the researcher's own judgement (Given, 2008). Yet an advantage of purposive sampling is that through the selection of the sample by the researcher, a means of planning the process of conducting the research can be prepared beforehand.

The interview process started with interviews at the Johannesburg Development Agency, at the end of which the interviewer asked the interviewee whether they knew anyone else who might contribute to this research. This is known as a snowballing technique (Page and Meyer, 1999). Through this process contact details for further interviewees were obtained, and the researcher then had to make a judgement as to whether they would be suitable subjects. The selection process for these interviews was thus based on a judgemental sampling.

“A judgemental sample consists of respondents who, in the judgement of the researcher will best supply the necessary information”

(Page and Meyer, 1999:99)

A disadvantage of using snowballing is the potential for bias that the researcher can put into the process of selection. However, if the initial list of participants is chosen with variety, this will also result in a more varied selection sample made available through snowballing (Given, 2008).

2.5 Reliability and Validity

Reliability and validity remain important and appropriate concepts for attaining rigour within research (Morse, Barrett, Mayan, Olson and Spiers, 2002).

According to Joppe (2000), reliability is the extent to which results are consistent over time. This includes an accurate representation of the total population under study (Joppe, 2000). According to Kirk and Miller (1986) reliability is the degree to which if the study is repeated, the measurements would remain the same. This research attempted to ensure reliability by using interviews and observations conducted during the same period over the course of five weeks. A careful documentation of the methods used was also made, should the study be repeated in future.

Validity (which can be internal and external) determines the credibility that the research presents. Internal validity is the use of methods and techniques to ensure that the research is measuring what it is supposed to. This was completed by using predetermined questions for interviews. External validity is a means of findings not being abstract or unrelated to the subject at hand (Morse et al., 2002). External validity is ensured through desktop research within this study. Through field notes and repeated visits, the researcher gathered detailed notes and sketches. These were compared and analysed in a quest to avoid any effect that the researcher might have had on the reactions of participants.

Triangulation is the process of making use of multiple methods to clarify and verify an observation or interpretation (Rowley, 2004). Using a variety of research techniques and two different research methods outlined above, this research ensures reliability and validity within the study.

2.6 Data Analysis

Data analysis is a process of analysing the contents of research findings. Data analysis is a flexible process, which does not take a linear form. Although flexible, data analysis requires a firm direction and procedure to potentially eliminate skipping analysis of data or overseeing an important aspect of the research (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005).

This study therefore took a systematic approach. This included the establishment of the research questions and background reading before conducting interviews. After each recorded interview the findings were transcribed. In addition to this the researcher had coded the findings and data. This was completed through the coding of data according to the main forces affecting informal trade. These being, namely institutions, policy and infrastructure. Through the process of grouping findings into categories, the researcher could see where the gaps lie in the research. When there were missing details the researcher conducted follow up interviews. These took place as unstructured interviews. The categorisation of the findings assisted the researcher in discussing the various forces systematically in the research.

During the period of conducting interviews, non-participant observations took place. Even though the process was systematic, it took a circular process as well (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005), as the researcher had to go back to the different sites to conduct observations on different days. Lastly, these findings and discussion were useful in answering the subsidiary research questions and putting forward recommendations. *These are displayed in chapter 5.*

2.7 Assumptions to the Research

Healey (1997) argues that as researchers our preferences and understanding of a topic are shaped firstly by our attitudes and values. Our perceptions and assumptions are used in designing research interests and questions to conduct the research. The initial ontological assumptions of this research were that while the author had been conducting the interviews as a student, the informal traders and officials would be more willing to interact and be interviewed. However, this was not the case. Informal traders were reluctant to talk about their experiences or even answer questions. This resulted from the fact that informal traders been asked questions by researchers and City officials before, and they felt that no positive action had taken place after interviews with them (Informal trader, interview, 21 July 2017). Therefore, different approaches and techniques were adopted to the research. These included unstructured interviews and non-participant interviews.

Another hidden assumption was the author's epistemological perspective. This had been shaped by the author's previous interaction and experience in these public spaces. These experiences are from direct use of the space, through previously working in the space and making use of the public transportation facilities. This experience had taken place prior to the author moving to Cape Town to complete undergraduate studies in 2012. However, this perspective became remoulded through the interviews and conversations conducted for the research.

2.8 Ethical Considerations

The researcher's view on urban space and factors shaping and affecting those in these spaces was not introduced into the conversations when interviewing participants. This allowed for the findings to be gathered from different and other perspectives, other than the author's own. The interviewees' answers were recorded to ensure there was an accurate record and no re-interpretation of these answers.

The researcher ensured that consent forms were filled out by each participant (see appendix two). This included conditions of confidentiality and anonymity. There was only one participant who asked for anonymity within the research, this was ensured. The author confirmed that all participants were aware of the purpose of the study, who she was and the reasons for doing the research. This provided the interviewee with knowledge of which institution the author is affiliated with.

Before conducting this research, an application was made to the ethics committee at the University of Cape Town. Approval was granted before this research was conducted.

2.9 Challenges experienced through the Research Process

This section discusses the challenges that were experienced during the research process.

- One of the key challenges was that the informal traders did not want to be interviewed. This placed strain on the interviewing process. This challenge increased the time used to interview informal traders. These provided a limitation in the research techniques used. As discussed above, the researcher addressed this using unstructured interviews, and this did not negatively affect the data collection.
- In terms of official interviews, the Department of Economic Development (DED) who are mandated to co-ordinate and facilitate informal trade in Johannesburg were not willing to be interviewed. Information was gathered through interviews with other City departments working with informal traders. In addition to this, work completed through Centre for Urbanism and Built Environment Studies (CUBES) was useful in addressing this challenge. This did not affect the data collected since the literature available through the CUBES website assisted me in understanding the institutional structure. In addition to this, the information was verified through interviews with other City officials.
- The researcher was unable to take as many photographs as was intended. This was due to the researcher feeling unsafe taking photographs within the case study areas. It was safe to walk around in these areas. Once walking around the researcher considered taking photographs but due to the rush in the space by pedestrians the researcher decided not to take

photographs. This eliminated the tension felt when walking around, as the pressure to take photographs in the space was eliminated. The researcher took photographs where she could. To address this challenge, sketches were made and images from Google Maps street view were used. In making use of this medium the researcher made sure that the images used from this platform were to date.

2.10 Conclusion

This chapter outlined the research process followed to answer the main and subsidiary research questions. The main strengths and limitations have been discussed. This chapter also discussed the ethical considerations and how the author addressed these. It concluded with a discussion of the challenges experienced in collection of data and in employing the research methods and techniques in practice. The research paper now turns to the literature review.

CHAPTER 3

Literature Review

The Purpose of this Chapter

Chapter 2 introduced the methods and techniques used in this study. The purpose of this chapter is to introduce and review literature relevant to the study undertaken. The review of this literature would form the platform in formulating subsidiary questions for this study.

The first objective of this literature review is to discuss urban planning principles and set performance dimensions as criteria to evaluate the performance of urban space. These performance dimensions will be used to draw up urban planning principles within the next chapter. Secondly is to unpack the layers that informal trade is constituted of. The third objective is to unravel the concept of urban public space. These perspectives will build upon one another in proceeding to the next perspective.

Finally, for this chapter relevant literature will be used to examine the forces that affect informal trade, namely institutions, regulatory and infrastructure.

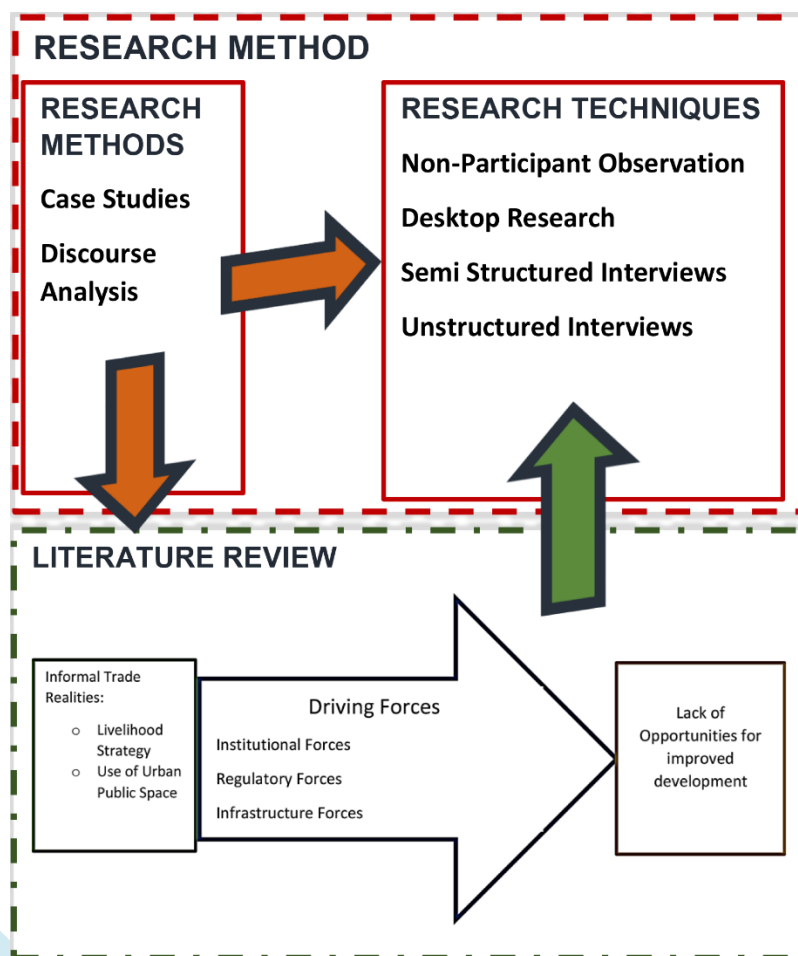


Figure 3.1: Diagram displaying literature review process and how the methodology was used in this process (Authors own, 2017)

3.1 Urban Planning Principles Perspective

Harvey (1973) argues that the complexities of formal and informal land-use are related to the inequalities caused by capitalism and spatial injustice. Urban land is considered to have value due to its potential to produce an income in the future (Chapin, 1965). This value has been linked to economic opportunities, within a commodified world. According to Harvey (1973) capitalism resulted in various inequalities, due to profit-centred institutions, where unemployment issues become related to ethnic discrimination. Urban land has been of value to communities' development, individual prosperity and overall wellbeing of a city (Lynch, 1984). Therefore, due to past injustices certain social groups have been excluded from experiencing the prosperities of urban land. As a result, spatial injustice can be seen both as an outcome and as a process (Soja, 2009). The process of the dispersed distribution patterns of economic opportunities, in relation to places of residence has been a course leading to injustice. While spatial injustice is an outcome of past inequalities in high degrees of social and economic control, it also presents the lack of access to opportunities.

Therefore, urban planning cannot ignore levels of poverty, unemployment and spatial inequality that have reached alarming proportions in South Africa (Behrens and Watson, 1996; Skinner, 2008a). According to Fainstein (2010) there are obvious limits to what can be accomplished at the metropolitan level, in terms of spatial and social justice. However, regimes and policies can be put in place to direct development towards a more inclusive and just city (Fainstein, 2010). Therefore, performance dimensions of the city or space, needs to be considered before establishing planning principles to encourage fruitful and inclusive development (Lynch, 1984).

The performance the urban space is the source of contention of the different users of the space. The overall performance not only involves the benefits of one group of users of the space, but for the collective public. Within the inner city the users range from the informal traders, pedestrians, motorists, cyclist, private sector and state governance. Therefore, desired performance dimensions of the urban space, can be influenced by urban planning principles.

There are many theories, which explain how urban planning affects the user's experiences of the urban space. Therefore, urban planning principles are used to resolve universal spatial and contemporary issues. These range from universal urban planning principles addressing sustainable cities, sprawl, new urbanism and building better cities. Urban planning principles address issues of complexity, land-use, spatial injustices and economic opportunities, to name a few. However, these issues vary from place to place, and between different groups of people. Therefore, in order to draw up urban planning principles for a particular place an understanding of the current performance of

the space is required. While also drawing up particular desired performance criteria for this particular place.

The place-based approaches to urban planning seeks to boost development from within by bolstering local strengths (Todes and Turok, 2017). This approach seeks to take into consideration geographical context in terms of its social, cultural and institutional characteristics (Barca, McCann and Rodriguez-Pose, 2012). Through place-based approaches in urban planning, the development of the unique urban space could be accomplished. This is completed by focusing on the potentials and weaknesses of that particular space. An important element of place-based planning is that the approach seeks to hold onto traditional and local insights, and modify these to improve development. These modifications are completed through a bottom-up approach. The place-based approach is designed to identify and build on embedded local knowledge (Barca et al., 2012). This approach to planning, a collaborative and multilevel planning would be required. This would need to encourage participation and input from different institutions and stakeholders included in the area.

In order to established urban planning principles that would ideally provide coordination between different activities and people, desired performance dimensions need to be established first. The below mentioned urban performance dimensions are drawn from various theories and literature. This is mainly drawn from Behrens and Watson (1996) and Lynch (1984), while being supplemented by work done by Carmona (2003) and Bentley, Alcock, Murrain, McGlynn and Smith (1985). Aspects of urban performance dimensions will be drawn on, in addressing how urban planning principles could be a means of improving opportunities for informal traders.

Lynch (1984) argued that there are five performance dimensions for the spatial form of cities. These are Vitality, Sense, Fit, Access and Control. This also include a meta-criterion which includes two principles; Efficiency and Justice. In addressing these performance dimensions, elements of public investment into facilities, amenity and utility infrastructure shall be included. In accomplishing this the use of Behrens and Watson (1996), layout principles will be included. These include; place making, scale, access, opportunity, efficiency and choice. In making use of both sets of criteria, these are not discussed in a particular order. *These performance dimensions are in italic the first time they are used in this section.*

Lynch (1984) proposes *vitality* as a performance dimension. This dimension is a means of maintaining the health and survival of the environment, while taking into consideration the social dynamics of those who make use of the space. As such this is a means of ensuring sustainability of the environment and in the lives of those who make use of the space. According to Carmona (2003) the vitality of a space is attributed to aspects in a public space that receive most movement and activities. These are

the edges of buildings and roads (pavements). Through supporting vitality in planning of these spaces, a variety of activities could co-exist in the public realm without inhibiting each other (Bentley et al., 1985). Therefore, in addressing the vitality of urban spaces different aspects of the environment, social, cultural and economic needs, and the needs of those who make use of the space, need to be taken into consideration (Todes, 2011). Likewise, in addressing urban public space in which informal traders operate, the needs of the informal traders should be met, while also considering the needs of pedestrians and cyclists who also make use of the space. Therefore, the vitality of the space is ensured through the consideration of all users of a space, and the different ways in which they make use of these spaces.

According to Lynch (1984) *fit* refers to how well the spatial and temporal patterns match the behaviour of its inhabitants. This means ensuring that the layout of the space matches the way in which people make use of the space and safeguarding that this use is matched by the activities that take place in it in the morning, during the day and at night. According to Lynch (1984), places are modified to fit people's behaviour, however people also change when entering a given space. Hence, in spaces that are already formed, patterns of behaviour may have already been established. This could lead planners to add modifications to enhance positive behaviour in spaces or to discourage negative behaviour. This might include the use of pavements. If pavements are not wide enough for pedestrians to walk on and for informal traders to trade on, it cannot be assumed that pedestrians will squeeze on the pavements. Pedestrians would alternatively walk on the roads which motorist use. These spaces could be enhanced through additions to it, to celebrate a space and grant better opportunities. This includes the design of a street layout or public open space, to accommodate the different unique activities taking place in the space. Different elements of the space need to complement one another (Carmona, 2003). These include the walkability of the space, the interface and threshold between buildings and the pavements, and distribution of infrastructure to best fit the needs of informal traders and pedestrians.

In maximizing on the strengths of a space and providing the right infrastructure, improvements could be potentially made to the *opportunities* that the space offers. According to Behrens and Watson (1996) economic opportunities are maximised inherently in the presence of large agglomerations of people through the arrangement of infrastructural investments in urban public space. In the inner-city the creation of well-established pedestrian routes, increases accessibility for pedestrians (Zavestoski and Agyeman, 2015). However, it also increases opportunities for informal activity (Hansen and Walter, 2013). In establishing good accessible and permeable primary pedestrian routes, opportunity for mobility is increased. This also improves access to customers for informal traders. Therefore, improvement of mobility and activity routes provides opportunities for accessibility within

the city and accessibility to customers for informal traders. In creating these opportunities, it also provides the inhabitants and users of the space with *choice*. The range of choice made available to the end-user has implications on the planning and design of circulation, amenity and utility systems (Behrens and Watson, 1996). Therefore, in addressing effective use of a space and in maximising space it would provide the pre-conditions for informal trading.

The *scale* of the urban environment also needs to be considered. According to Behrens and Watson (1996) urban environments should be planned to a human scale, as opposed to a vehicular scale. This includes the heights, widths, surfacing and operations of various elements of a layout plan, from the perspective of a person on foot (Behrens and Watson, 1996). This provides a sense of connection between the spatial layout of space and the use of the space by the end-user. Different spaces between buildings, the threshold between buildings and the pavement, between the pavement and the street, all require linkage and connections. This needs to allow for effective and efficient use of the space. In cases of the inner city, the threshold between buildings and the pavements could be designed to meet the needs of pedestrians and informal traders. This would allow for economic opportunities to thrive in these spaces. This is especially the case for spaces that encourage and attract high pedestrian movement (Rogerson, 2000).

In addition to planning spaces to a human scale for economic activities, these could encourage opportunities for *place making*. According to Behrens and Watson (1996) place making is a characteristic of quality urban places. The sustainable balance with natural systems and a responsive balance with human needs is required. Place making provides a *sense* of identity and purpose within different spaces (Lynch, 1984). According to Jackson (1994, as cited in Carmona, 2003:100) sense of place is often discussed in terms of Genius Loci – a notion suggesting people experience something beyond the physical or sensory properties of places and feel an attachment to a spirit of place. *Sense* of identity in a place is maintained through the use of the space and the way in which it is managed and controlled over time (Carmona, 2003).

Another performance dimension is the concern for *access*. Access refers to maximum circulation, and access to opportunities for the greatest number of people (Behrens and Watson, 1996). It is important to increase access to services, especially social and public services, and public facilities. Lynch (1984) describes access as a means of importance to human activities and that access is unequally distributed. This includes access to information for opportunities, as well as to laws and policies. While access requires a physical mode of transportation or direction, there is also visual or aural access that is required. Access for informal traders to services, facilities, infrastructure and information should be taken into consideration within urban planning.

Just as cities and spaces need to be accessible, they also need to be *controlled* (Lynch, 1984). People have a right to make use of public spaces, the right to be in the space. In the case of ownership those who own the space can provide restrictions in making use of this space (Carmona, 2003). However, control, provides a psychological connection to the space (Lynch, 1984). Therefore, where informal traders been given the right and freedom, and certainty in making use of a space, a connection to the space is made. This facilitates a sense of responsibility and identity. However, the government has not opened up the opportunity for informal traders to be in control of their trading spaces.

“The government has been so busy trying to solve specific problems that it has failed to realise that it is trapping people in their cycle of poverty by not allowing them to progress.”

(Campbell and Cowman, 2016:19)

These performance dimensions provide a means of planning and designing spaces that could function better. It would be ignorant to disregard political and economic aspects that shape these public spaces (Lynch, 1984; Behrens and Watson, 1996). In addressing planning principles which could be used to enhance opportunities and development, there is a broader political context that shapes the prospects of the kinds of spaces formed (Todes, 2011).

“Achieving significant improvements in urban areas is typically a long-term process and, thus, short periods of political office, coupled with various boom-to-bust economic cycles, do not provide a stable context for long-term investment, nor for implementing strategic visions.”

(Carmona, 2003:63)

According to Todes (2011) planners are one set of actors in a broader planning system, and amongst a much larger number of players shaping urban development. Planning principles that enhance the overall wellbeing of a city would require a political voice. This would entail planning principles to become an overall means of strategically planning the productivity and *efficiency* of a city. According to Todes (2011) there is importance in a strong understanding of the forces shaping urban development and the role of markets, while also seeing the importance of collaborative processes of engagement with stakeholders.

“It requires an understanding of planning as a discursive and political process.”

(Todes, 2011:126)

Therefore, what is being argued for is innovative approaches to urban planning, political process and management that maximise the gains from these activities. (Skinner, 2008b). There has been an

increased recognition of the key roles of cities as centres of economic growth, as places of creativity and innovation, where livelihoods are forged (Todes, 2011; Rakodi, 2002).

Traditionally, planners have not placed significance on participation as a constructive means of establishing the outcomes of the built environment and elevation of the marginalised members of society (Amin, 1999). Top-down decision making has been the main factor in shaping spaces. Fainstein (2010) has argued that all groups, those from various income levels and social backgrounds, must participate in the decision-making processes. This process is a means of improving *justice* within urban spaces. Based on the preliminary results from a project documenting the lessons learned from the Warwick Junction in South Africa, participation was central to the project's success (Skinner, 2008a). Through this approach, informal traders at Warwick Junction were given the opportunity to participate on a sustained and continuous basis in negotiations about their needs and priorities. According to Skinner (2008a) the process was an example of what Healey would describe as planning by multi-stakeholder collaboration and planning by negotiation.

This section aimed to draw attention to the important performance dimensions which could be used in drawing up urban planning principles, with specific attention to the importance these principles could have to improve the performance of informal trading activities within the inner-city spaces.

3.2 Urban Livelihoods Perspective

Rakodi (2002) had defined livelihoods as the capabilities, assets (including material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living. This section deals with characteristics of informal trade and how informal trade contributes to the spatial contexts of livelihood strategies for the urban poor and unemployed. These characteristics are a means of understanding the context of informal trade in cities, in addition to setting the scene for establishing and understanding the opportunities of informal traders that are affected. The complexity in the livelihood activities of informal traders are inherently seen in the spatial distribution of their activities (Rakodi, 2002). Informal traders trade within locations in which their customers are. In addition to this they trade in spaces where their social connections and relationships are present since these play a major part of the informal sector. There are eight attributes that contribute to an urban livelihoods perspective for informal traders. These are: informal sector; complexity; size; location; accessibility; mobility; linkages; and spatial exclusion.

a) Informal Sector

“The urban poor are faced with a price-income squeeze, as the effects of unemployment and downward pressure on wages were compounded by the marketization of public goods.”

(Watt, 2000: 103, as cited in Rakodi, 2002:29)

Using their assets, particularly their health, labour, social networks and knowledge, the urban poor find a means of improving their livelihoods. Thus, entering the informal sector by way of informal trading is a means of provision for themselves and their families. This requires little opportunity for expansion into viable businesses, limited capital investment and virtually no skills training (Rogerson, 2000). These are possibly the main reasons why urban poor, unskilled and the unemployed enter informal trade, in particular in dense urban spaces.

Historically, South Africa’s informal economy was both a potential source of opportunity and of upward mobility (Preston-Whyte and Rogerson, 1991). According to Bromley (2000) informal trading is an ancient and important occupation, that adds to the vitality of the streetscape and contributes to economic activities. Informal trader’s’ livelihoods are directly linked to global value chains and macroeconomic dynamics (Cohen, 2010). Thus, the improvement in the economics of the nation has positive impacts and benefits for informal traders as well (Lund and Skinner, 2004). Most people who enter the informal economy do so because they must; not because they choose it freely (Skinner, 2000). Ultimately, the informal sector is a result of the lack in formal employment opportunities for all and this is particularly the case given the past injustices in South Africa. Informal trade was discouraged and even banned, especially among the black population, during Apartheid (Skinner, 2000). This had left individuals with few to no skills, which less employment opportunities. This had changed and created economic opportunities for the poorer individuals in the late 1980s due to the free market approach (Skinner, 2000).

The neo-liberal tradition holds that the informal economy, including informal trade, has vast potential for employment creation and growth (De Soto, 1989). However, following a Marxist perspective, informal trade provides the state with a structural problem as it is unlikely to generate growth (Moser, 1984). According to Skinner (2000) this structural problem will lead to increased government control of informal trader’s’ activities. Informality thus becomes increasingly political and linked to state practices. However, this hinders informal trade being translated into normative thinking in planning, governance, public administration or policy (Benit-Gbaffou, 2015).

Informal trade has come a long way in South Africa, as traders increasingly seek to provide for themselves and their families. It has played an important role in the socio-economic development of

the country. Small, Medium, Micro-Enterprise (SMME) are increasingly viewed as important sources of employment and income by all spheres of government in South Africa (Skinner, 2000). Yet, informal traders in South Africa, special reference to Johannesburg inner-city, still face uncertainty and continuous temporary interruptions to their livelihoods (Benit-Gbaffou, 2016).

In contemporary South Africa, pro-developmental approaches for informal traders have been favoured by national government and inclusive development discourses (Zack et al., 2014). Even so the city of Johannesburg had a counter-force which was consolidated in favour of control, management and repression of informal traders in the inner-city (Rogerson, 2016). At a time in which the city is pro-development, establishing itself as a 'world-class' city and attracting investment into the city through urban regeneration, informal trade lining the streets does not portray the image best suited for this reconstruction of the city (Yeoh, 2005). This resulted in the 2013 launch of the month-long Operation Clean Sweep during which 6000 informal traders operating in public urban spaces were forcibly evicted from the inner-city of Johannesburg (Benit-Gbaffou, 2015; Thompson and Grant, 2015; Zack, 2015). This violent removal of legal and illegal informal traders from inner-city of Johannesburg was reminiscent of the heydays of Apartheid repression which oversaw the destruction of the livelihoods of so many communities (Rogerson, 1986; Rogerson, 2016). Operation Clean Sweep was seen by many as removing what had been for most their only means of improving or even maintaining their livelihoods. The result was an increase in, their vulnerability and a decrease in their capabilities to support themselves and their families.

b) Complexity

Informal trade is heterogeneous, complex and dynamic, with changing patterns of sales and workers (Bromley and Mackie, 2008). There are social, economic and political layers to the complexity that informal trading possesses. Informal traders are those with little to no other option of provision for their family, and find themselves adopting short-term survival strategies which may be opportunistic rather than planned (Rakodi, 2002). Informal trade poses a dilemma for authorises because the activities are difficult to regulate (Bromley and Mackie, 2008).

On the one hand, there are informal traders typically trading on street and in other public spaces, while regulated by policies and laws that govern those spaces. In some cases, traders are unaware of these policies or laws that govern their spaces, whether they are or are not part of informal trader organisations (Skinner, 2000). Nevertheless, these regulations provide complexities for informal traders and their activities. In addition, these change through variations in management and fluctuations in governing structures.

On the other hand, there are informal traders who are illegally part of the system. It can be argued that these traders are also ultimately just trying to find a way to provide for their livelihoods. However, there are informal traders who have not registered their trade due to their illegal goods that are being sold, or because they illegally immigrated to South Africa. Others may simply not make enough money to pay for renting of the space (Skinner, 2000; Rogerson, 2016). While these pose difficulties for their own trade and the regulation by the City, they also pose a challenge for legal traders who might feel undermined by the activities of illegal traders (Willemse, 2011).

There are complex dynamics that pose difficulties for traders, all of whom face highly regulated and restrictive mechanisms to become legal traders that also hinder registration of some traders (Benit-Gbaffou, 2015). This is the case in the City of Johannesburg, as restrictions on trading locations and the complexity in the registration system has hindered some informal traders from becoming legal traders (Willemse, 2011). Restrictive measures held by the City to limit informal trade are counterproductive tools. Informal trading is a sector with multiple layers of complexity. As such tools administrated by the government need to work through and within this complexity rather than trying to overwhelm it through the use of restrictions.

Due to the free movement of goods, services and people between the Southern African Development Community (SADC) there has been an increase in the number of foreign street traders in South Africa (Lund et al., 2000). This has increased competition, as in some cases foreign traders are better educated and even employ other traders while in the country (Lund et al., 2000). It is common among migrant informal traders to own formal retail stores as well as their informal trading stalls (Tomlinson, Beauregard, Bremmer and Mangcu, 2003). This enables them to maximise sales of the products while also being a supplier and trader. In many cases as stated in Zack et al., (2014) these traders are migrants more than they are immigrants, as they return home several times a year. However, they contribute to the economy as in many cases they purchase their items for sale, here in South Africa while at the same time spending money living here as well.

Beyond the 1994 democratic transition several different viewpoints were identified which have influenced the changing pathways of local trader policies (Zack et al., 2014). There was the notion that informal trading is inherently illegal and associated with crime, grime and congestion and that it constitutes a direct threat to the economic life of the city (Rogerson, 2016). These notions and points of view have shaped the perspective held by some pedestrians and even of those who do not come regularly into spaces dominated by informal traders, like in the inner-city of Johannesburg.

There is also a disproportionate number of women working as street traders. Research demonstrates that women are more likely than men to spend their income on household needs (Skinner, 2008a).

While this is the case, Lund et al., (2000) draws our attention to the fact that gender issues are not primarily about women's issues. Gender issues are more about the different roles that men and women play in society and how these roles are decided and defined. While it is typical for women to have the responsibility of child-care and providing for a family, men have also been found to have this role in a family. However, men have in fewer cases been found to be sensitive to these responsibilities, and research found that women show a greater concern in this regard (Lund et al., 2000). This measure of complexity varies in different spaces. Yet, domestic responsibilities have been seen to be more a women's responsibility and as such female informal traders are often found looking after children even while trading (Crush and Chikanda, 2015).

c) Size

The importance of informal trade stems from the relative size and visibility of its activities compared to the contribution it makes to the improved livelihoods for the urban poor (Rogerson, 2016). The informal enterprise size and number of traders has increased in recent years, from about 200 to 250 traders on the streets of the city centre of Johannesburg in the 1980s, to about 15 000 two decades later (Rogerson, 2000). This has been a result of the structural changes in the country's economy post-1994 since its exposure to the global market (Bhorat and Hodge, 1999, as cited, in Tomlinson et al., 2003:98). However, with these increased numbers of informal traders, has come increased competition, as well as increased theft and violence (Tomlinson et al., 2003). Informal traders, whether legal or illegal, dominate space on pavements, and in some cases, add pressure to traffic congestion. While high numbers have increased traffic flow, these increased numbers of informal traders have also placed pressure on hygiene systems and services (Dewar and Watson, 1990).

The increase in size of informal trade in the inner-city of Johannesburg is paid attribute to the lack of inclusion of the unskilled and poor, into the formal economy. This is also a lack of progress in community, social and economic development to integrate informal traders in the formal economic activities. Even though there are traders who prefer to be informal traders over being formal employees, the South African economy is not inclusive enough to provide traders merely with that opportunity or option. Even so the increase size of informal traders has not increased government involvement to improve conditions. Instead informal trade is highly managed and regulated, with minimal opportunities for integration of traders into decision making.

d) Location

According to Zavestoski and Agyeman (2014) pavement vending is a daily practice on many streets, especially in the inner parts of big cities. The location of informal traders is critical to their success (Dewar and Watson, 1990). Informal trading locations are chosen based on the pedestrian movement

and highest need. Informal traders encourage consumption, by selling at relatively low prices and by making items available at a wider range of locations and for longer periods (Bromley, 2000; Beavon and Rogerson, 1982; Rooyen, Mavhandu and van Schalkwyk, 1997). For urban planning purposes, an understanding of the generative capacity of different parts of the city will give a guide to potentially good locations for markets as well as their possible size (Dewar and Watson, 1990). Figure 3.2 and Figure 3.3 illustrate that informal traders prefer to be located where pedestrian movement is greater. Figure 3.4 displays that market size and location can change over the course of the day. This depends on the strength and direction of pedestrian flows. In addition to these prime locations for informal traders, trading is best located where there are various directions of movement. This could be seen in Figure 3.5, which displays the 'dead' spots located at the centre of excessively long runs of stalls. According to Dewar and Watson, a more appropriate circulation width of 1 to 1.5 metres and length of 18-25 metres. This is demonstrated in Figure 3.6.

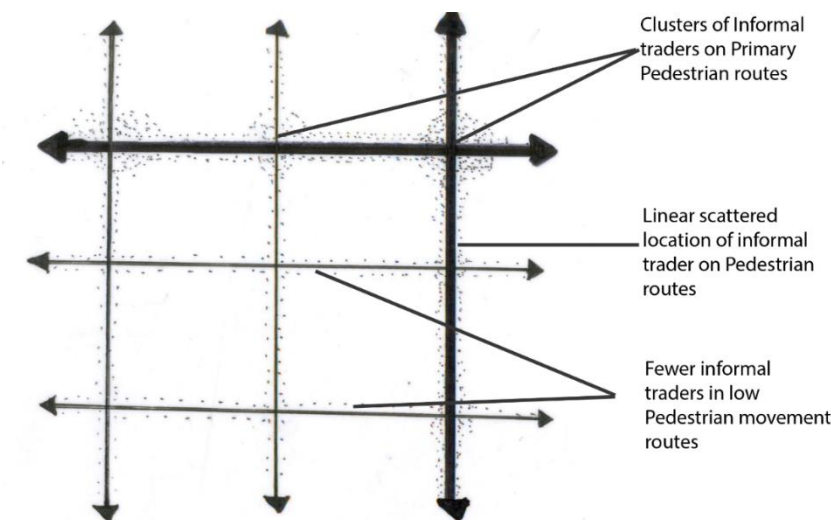


Figure 3.2: Clusters of traders at points of greatest movement (Adapted by author from Dewar and Watson, 1990:26)

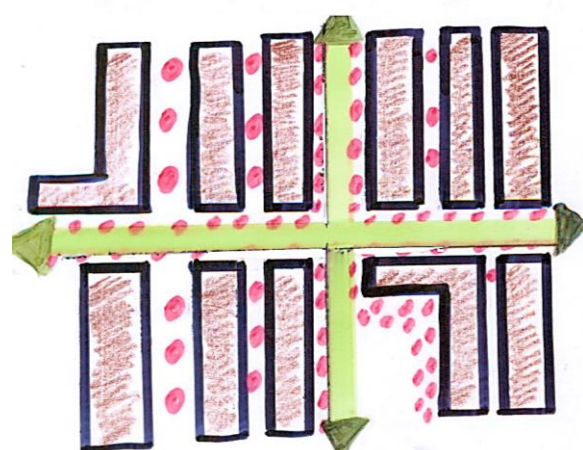


Figure 3.3: Traders are predominantly located on main routes of movement (Adapted by author from Dewar and Watson, 1990:47)



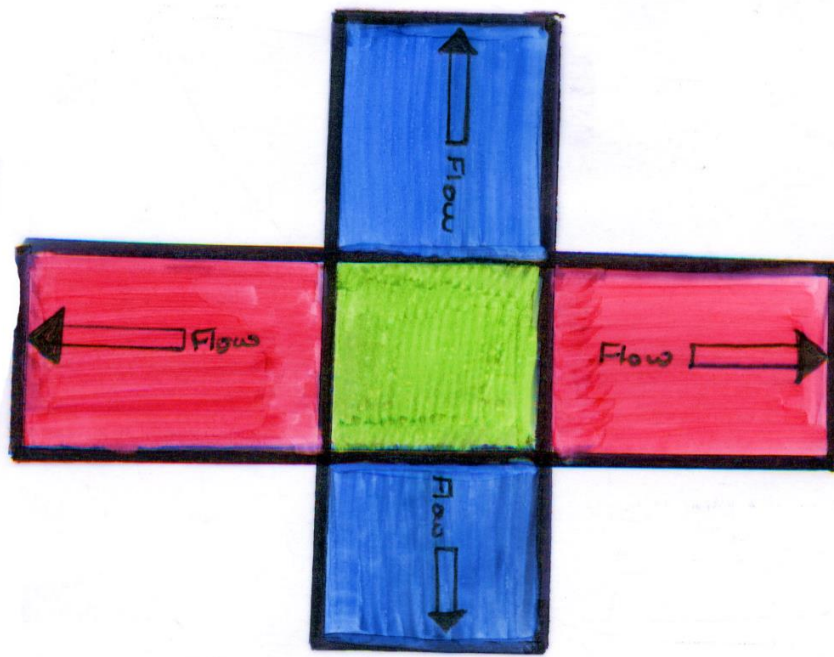





Figure 3.4: Market size and location can change over the course of the day this is dependent on the strength and direction of pedestrian flows (Adapted by author from Dewar and Watson, 1990:29)

-  Morning Markets
-  Evening Markets
-  All Day Markets

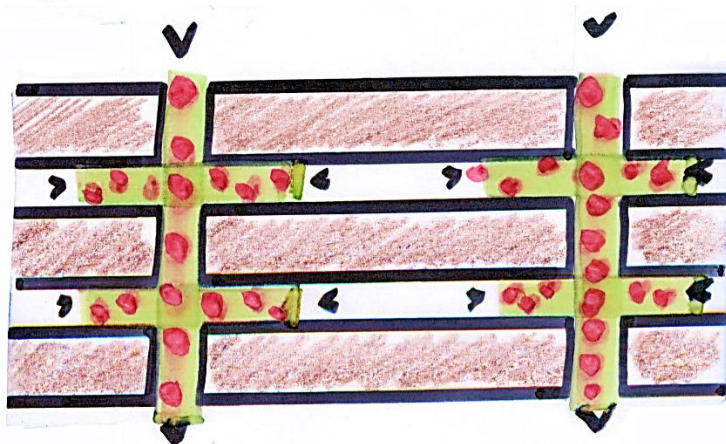


Figure 3.5: The dead spots are at the centre of excessively long runs of stalls (Adapted by author from Dewar and Watson, 1990:48)

-  Informal Traders
-  Main Pedestrian Routes
-  City Blocks

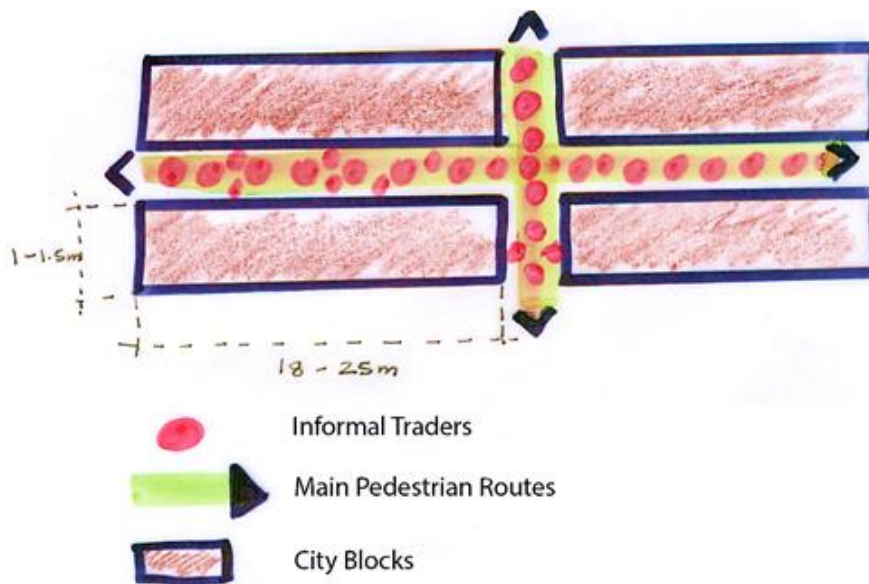


Figure 3.6: This is more appropriate circulation channel width (Adapted by author from Dewar and Watson, 1990:26)

Depending on the items sold by informal traders, the trader would gain more interest in their goods if they are further away from alternative sources of supply. An example of this would be fruits and vegetables. However, in many cases efforts in transporting from the source of supply to location of trading might be easier if it is close by (Dewar and Watson, 1990). Nevertheless, informal traders locate themselves and prefer to be located where there are customers. Therefore, if transporting goods to sale further away from the source of supply works for the trader's income then this is what they will do.

From a planning perspective, an informal trader's location of trade increases access to goods for those low to middle income employees in the city and other pedestrians (Hansen and Walter, 2013). Therefore, this proximity of the informal traders' markets to pedestrians could provide an improved quality of life for the pedestrian and for the informal trader (Dewar and Watson, 1990). This is a result of the pedestrians having easy access to cheap products with a resultant maximising on the time used in walking from one place to another, by purchasing products on the way. This is especially the case for those who do not have the time to get off from work to purchase items that they need. Informal traders have and continue to bring people back to streets as or even more effectively than most intentional pedestrian friendly street designs (Zavestoski and Agyeman, 2014).

The mix use in informal trading spaces is important in the design and administration of any market system (Dewar and Watson, 1990). The multifunctional character of a space increases drawing power. Therefore, informal traders who provide cooked food or warm beverages would thrive better in locations close to offices, transport nodes or parks. While these spaces might also be prime locations for fruits and veg, as well as clothes and other items, these would also thrive along the pavement areas (Dewar and Watson, 1990). Taking these aspects of location into consideration when planning

spaces that include informal traders, has been noted to improve effectiveness and efficiency (Dewar and Watson, 1990; Lund et al., 2000). However, these have also depended on the social networks that informal traders engage in. It might look counterproductive to the outsider to be located in the same area and trading the same products. But in some instances, informal traders located in the same areas and, trading the same or similar products have entered into social contracts (Lyons and Snoxell, 2005). These social contracts ensure sharing of income made on certain products, sharing transportation or even moral support. While urban planning may seek to improve the effectiveness and efficiency of the traders, the social networks among trader need to be taken into consideration as well.

e) Accessibility

Access to public space is a key physical asset in the livelihood strategies of the urban poor. Thus, the access to spaces that promote and allow for pedestrian movement would improve informal traders' access to customers. The City of Johannesburg Spatial Development Framework 2040 (2016) mentions the objective to transform the inner city into a strong, accessible and generative metropolitan core. Improving accessibility is a common objective of the regeneration projects of urban plans in Johannesburg (Cabaret, 2012). The City of Johannesburg has also linked improved access with urban regeneration. Therefore, there is a risk that decisions concerning the urban poor become shadowed by considerations of their economic impacts (Fainstein, 2010). This would mean that accessibility to the city and its benefits to individual livelihoods falls second to the goal of economic development.

f) Mobility

According to Rakodi (2002) mobility of the poor is constrained by lack of access to cheap and affordable transport. To a certain extent this limits informal traders' access to urban resources. However, according to Lund et al., (2000) informal trader organisations are useful in providing links between traders by improving opportunities to share mobility where possible. In an event that on-site storage facilities could be provided for informal traders, this would allow for improved daily mobility of informal traders. Nevertheless, this could still be problematic, as in some cases the traders might feel as though the security provided is inadequate or it might be a case of the provision of these facilities increases rental charges (Dewar and Watson, 1990). The lack of easy mobility results in difficulty and strain on informal traders. These strains could affect their ability to trade and therefore limit their access to markets.

g) Linkage

The complex trading and economic environment of large cities provides the best conditions for the informal economy to flourish (Clarke, 1995, as cited in Rakodi, 2002:190). The degree of permeability

of city space increases opportunities for trading locations. The permeability and linkage of spaces are a means of successful urban planning of a city and its spaces (Carmona, 2003). The success of such planning provides a means of increasing pedestrian movements and indirectly increasing opportunities for informal traders to be located. In addition to this is the linkage between major nodes of importance or nodes of high degree of activity. Linkage between these nodes would create higher volumes of pedestrian movement along these roads and thus increase opportunities for informal trading to take place. The lack of permeability and linkage of streets and public spaces, would have other negative effects on the performance of the city. This would also affect the dispersion and opportunities for informal trading enterprises (Behrens and Watson, 1996).

Another type of linkage that affects the livelihoods of informal traders is the network of economic and social links which the poor and the unemployed depend on (Rakodi, 2002). According to Amin (1999) informal trading markets are socially constructed and the economic behaviour is embedded in networks of interpersonal relationships. Therefore, it is the linkage between informal traders and the social connections that provides that linkage of support and knowledge sharing. This linkage is a means of supporting the livelihood strategies of the informal traders.

h) Spatial Exclusion

Conventional approaches to urban spatial planning and land-use regulation have contributed to the isolation of the poor by creating a dual structure of land tenure and economy, thus excluding the livelihood activities of the poor from large parts of the city (Rakodi, 2002). According to Chambers (1995, as cited in Rakodi, 2002) the distribution of services, markets and economic support decreases exclusion from economic markets.

Informal traders experience this high level of control and regulation in the use of public space and thus experience an exclusion from these spaces (Rakodi, 2002). This is further felt through the spatial injustice, through the segregation of certain ethnic groups from these economic spaces.

3.3 Urban Public Space Perspective

“The essential nature of urban land is that it is simultaneously private and public, individual and collective, that its shape and form express the intertwined dynamics of the individual actions of firms and households and collective action on the part of diverse institutions of control and governance.”

(Scott and Storper, 2014:8, as cited in Crush and Chikanda, 2015:61).

An urban public space is defined as a public good, as it is available and open to be used by anyone (Kingwell, 2008, as cited in Giesecking, Mangold, Katz, Low and Saegart, 2014:102). By definition,

everyone and anyone can make use of these spaces. Urban public space is subject to a continuum of process and motion (Harvey, 2005). These spaces accommodate a range of activities, and are in essence open to be used by anyone (Lerner, 2014). As such these are places where people can engage in collective life, and which accommodate the informal activities and events which are the essence of urban life (Behrens and Watson, 1996). According to Lerner (2014) such spaces are perfect for stimulated activities that celebrate the beauty of the space, that may not always be appreciated. In some cases, streets and public squares have not been appreciated because of the way they are used. As they are exclusionary, or are not designed for public use. In other cases, the layout design of the space may not invite social interaction within the space. Such spaces require a bit of a stimulation to enhance the use of the space. These stimulated activities are what Lerner (2014) calls urban acupuncture. These are focused interventions which can create new energy and demonstrate the possibilities that the space has to offer (Lerner, 2014). These interventions increase the variety of users of the space and could be used in challenging negative perceptions of the space.

Urban public space, while being a social and political space, is also an economic resource to informal traders. Informal trading economies are livelihood strategies that are practiced on urban public space (Hansen and Walter, 2013). These spaces are predominantly spaces in which there are high levels of pedestrian movement. This includes public squares, transport nodes and especially street spaces (Hansen and Walter, 2013; Zavestoski and Agyeman, 2015). Streets are public space that should be designed to accommodate the needs of various and all users (Zavestoski and Agyeman, 2015). Through complete street spaces pedestrians can walk or cycle between and within these public spaces. These spaces can increase informal trader interaction with pedestrians; informal trader's prime customers. Such spaces are an extension of the individuals dwelling unit and provide spaces for economic activities (Behrens and Watson, 1996). However, informal traders do make use of a public space for profit and thus claiming an entrepreneurial identity, within a 'free' space (Benit-Gbaffou, 2016).

It has been identified that public space is a key physical asset in the livelihood strategies of the urban poor (Skinner, 2008b). According to Rakodi (2002) informal trader's' interactions within urban public space is not well documented. However, the way in which informal traders are restricted in making use of these spaces and management thereof, continues to be a significant proportion of urban economies and planning (Roy, 2005). Informal trading forms an integral part of urban life. It is shaped by the rules and regulations that govern the space (Hansen and Walter, 2013). Following the complexity theory, it can be argued that the interaction of bodies within public space is simultaneously a process of ordering and disruption (Amin, 2008).

Local authorities need to balance the interests of many different stakeholders using public space (Skinner, 2008b). A spaces degree of public use is an extent to which people have access to the space without asking permission, expressed or implied (Loukaitou-Sideris and Ehrenfeucht, 2009). Efforts to control public spaces depend on defining who can participate and how they can do so is fundamental. The distribution of urban public space is central in determining the distribution of a diversity of urban activities (Behrens and Watson, 1996). Diversity is the embodiment of mixed use and mixed income, racial and ethnic integration to widely accessible public spaces (Fainstein, 2005; Fainstein, 2010). Urban public spaces offer a means of providing that integration of social groups and economic opportunities.

Urban public spaces include public squares, parks, memorial sites and transport nodes, with the use of pavements defined by regulations. Pavements provide an opportunity for a range of functions and increase optimum efficiency of the road space (Behrens and Watson, 1996). There are two views of pavement usage. The one is of pavements as safe, clean, predictable, orderly and aesthetically pleasant parts of the urban landscape that connect points of origin and destination. The other usage is of pavements and other public space as useful for social, trading and economic exchanges (Loukaitou-Sideris and Ehrenfeucht, 2009). This provides informal traders with direct access to customers and potential customers. This diverse and continuous network of multi-functional roads is a means of providing social, cultural and increased economic opportunities (Behrens and Watson, 1996).

“A just city would have controls that define the parameters of public-space use, access and processes of enabling different voices and interests to help define those controls.”

(Loukaitou-Sideris and Ehrenfeucht, 2009:11)

A third view, according to Loukaitou-Sideris and Ehrenfeucht (2009), is that pavements are closely associated with its adjacent buildings, and as such the way they are perceived and used affects the tenants and users of these buildings. Therefore, the activities on the pavements should be regulated by the tenants of the building. As such these actions should take place through a process of participation from the different stakeholders of the space. These include the government, private sector, civil society and even the individuals using the space daily. The complexity of urban street spaces goes beyond pedestrian movement, safety and regulation. Thus, there are economic and social activities that are socially and culturally constructed that cannot be forcibly deconstructed (Loukaitou-Sideris and Ehrenfeucht, 2009). Jacobs (1961) argued for a better appreciation of streets and their complexity, and for this complexity to be celebrated and not replaced with order.

Different elements of the urban public spaces should be maintained and strengthened. Figure 3.7 displays city blocks that have been divided into property Erfen, these blocks are divided by roadways. These roadways give way for the movement of motorist, however are designed to accommodate pedestrians along pavements. Even so pedestrians still make use of these roadways to move between and within the urban space. In addition to which these roadways spill into open spaces and public squares in some city spaces. Some spaces with in cities have public squares and open space, that form part of place making within the city centre. These three elements: pavements; roadways and public squares are free movement spaces for pedestrians that contribute to the vibrancy and identity within city spaces. As such the integration of these spaces within planning on an institutional level and the regulation of these spaces, are intertwined. Therefore, cannot be planned for in isolation of one another.

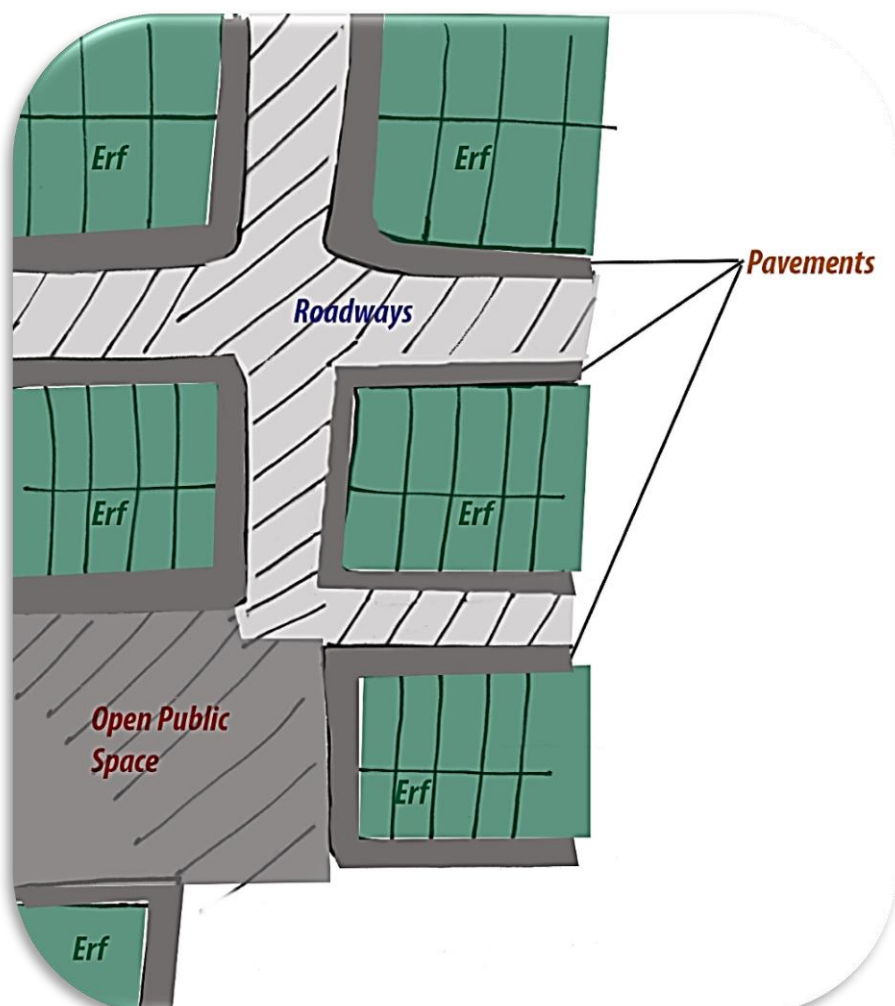


Figure 3.7: Sketch representing the Integration of different elements of urban public space within inner-city spaces (Source: Authors Own, 2017. Based of discussion with Meyer, 2017)

3.4 Highlighting the Driving Forces Affecting Informal Traders

Various driving forces affect the opportunities of informal traders. However, through this section of the literature review, such forces that have been a result of urban planning and development or the lack thereof will be discussed below. These are namely; institutional forces, regulatory forces and infrastructural forces.

3.4.1 Institutional Forces

This section of the literature review aims at addressing how, if and why institutions affect opportunities for informal traders. This section is divided into three sections, namely; Local government, Civil society and Formal sector. Each one of these parts of the institutional structure affect informal trading through a host of arrangements. These are discussed in terms of the literature.

Local Government

As per the South African Constitution (1996), with specific reference to Section 152, and the White Paper on Local Government (1998) local government in South Africa is a separate sphere from National government (Skinner, 2000). Local government is tasked with the provision of services and the promotion of social and economic development, as well as citizen participation.

“.. local government is understood to be more than just an administrative function and instead one part of a relational interaction with other organised constituencies and interest groups acting in the city.”

(Skinner, 2008a:22)

Therefore, local government has been mandated with the administration of multiple layers of challenges that it should undergo while meeting the needs of the citizens. South African local governments had to establish, and implement effective planning, administrative and service delivery systems out of the chaos inherited from the Apartheid era (Beall, Crankshaw and Parnell, 2000; Benit-Gbaffou, 2017). The tasks of local government in economic planning, require more local economic development initiatives and tools (Rogerson, 2000). According to Didier, Morange and Peyroux (2013) political instability and tensions within local governments have prevented the development of a more comprehensive vision of the city's future. In addition to which the Johannesburg's government department structures have suffered badly from the restructuring and internal staffing concerns (Beall et al., 2000). According to Lund et al., (2000) the local government has been restructured and transformed multiple times since the old apartheid systems. This is currently still a trend in the local government structural system (Benit-Gbaffou, 2015; Benit-Gbaffou, 2012; Benit-Gbaffou, 2017).

There are also efforts within the Johannesburg government structure to integrate development plans to increase effective economic and social development.

“The integration of local government in Johannesburg is not just about political solidarity; there is a desperate need for administrative and bureaucratic uniformity.”

(Beall, Crankshaw and Parnell, 2000:118)

According to Skinner (2000) local politicians shape local governments development interventions, as governments are ultimately influenced by political factors. Therefore, the outcomes of policies and plans put forward by government are in turn a result of the political forces and political agenda at the time of application and implementation. Local government structures and instability in its structure places strain on a host of aspects within the city. In addition to which local government plays a major role in the operations and development of informal trade. Therefore, if strategic planning between different municipal departments within local government could be achieved, this might increase opportunities for informal traders (Skinner, 2000; Benit-Gbaffou, 2017).

Currently and since August 2016 Johannesburg has been governed by the Democratic Alliance. The revised Integrated Development Plan 2017/2018 (IDP) includes the acknowledgement that informal trading is a critical ingredient to supporting economic growth. In addition to this the City has allocated R15 million to revamp informal trading stalls within the inner City (Democratic Alliance [DA], 2017). In this allocation of funds and through the indication from government that informal trading is important, the development and growth of the traders in the informal sector still require intergovernmental planning.

Private Sector

“The informal sector has gained prominence in developing countries during the past two decades, mainly as a result of the formal sector’s inability to absorb growing populations and an increasing number of individuals hoping to secure an income through self-employment in the informal sector.”

(Horn, 2011:1)

While the informal sector is increasing in numbers, this growth is as a result of individuals searching out informal activities to sustain themselves, rather than the need for new enterprises to fill observed market demands (Rogerson, 2000). As such in a time of increased unemployment and the lack of employment opportunities in the formal sector, the formal sector has played an urban management role (Skinner, 2000).

A large portion of the Johannesburg inner city informal trading management is outsourced, to property owners or private sector companies (Skinner, 2000). There are two of these systems in the inner-city of Johannesburg. In one, that landowners can apply for a pavement lease whereby they can manage informal trading outside of their buildings. In the second, a public-private partnership known as City Improvement District (CID) (Skinner, 2000) can be established. According to Didier et al., (2013) CIDs had been introduced in the South African context to support urban regeneration strategies in the changing and declining urban economies. However, this privately funded public services provision is also a means of enforcing the city's bylaws (Miraftab, 2007), thereby, regulating the use and users of the public space. While CIDs provide a means of combating crime, waste management and informal trade management, the costs of such ongoing management is also at the expense of the private company. This takes a strain from the local government (in terms of management and allocation of funds for the services that CIDs provide), and transfer it to the budgets of the private sector. However, the social and economic exclusion it brings along within it, places added pressure on the government. CIDs can thus be seen as providing 'top-up' services through a top-down approach.

CIDs were first introduced in Johannesburg in developed economic nodes of affluent northern suburbs (Rosebank, Sandton, Illovo and Randburg). The inner-city of Johannesburg CIDs had been constructed to address degradation of the public environment and infrastructure (Didier et al., 2013). CIDs promote the uneven social and spatial development characteristics of a neoliberal spatiality (Miraftab, 2007). According to Didier et al., (2013) CIDs remain deeply entrenched in private strategies linked to market primacy and business-friendly policies. CIDs have been striving for sustainable urban management in creating an environment for investment, while still taking strain from government in management and provision of services for informal traders. Even so, the positive intentions of the CIDs forum are over-shadowed by neoliberal practices and uneven socio-spatial development.

NGOs and the role of Civil Society

"Citizen participation was to overcome the injustices caused by lack of responsiveness and failures of empathy, as well as being a value in its own right through its furtherance of democracy."

(Fainsten, 2010: 64)

Informal trader's organisations are a means of establishing and defending legal rights of traders, and being effective means of representation for their members and resolving minor disputes in these spaces (Lund et al., 2000). These organisations are registered as non-profit organisations. Some are cooperatives and others are private companies (Benit-Gbaffou, 2016). Many informal trader organisations appear and disappear (Lund et al., 2000). This is often due to the addressing of an issue

of interest. As such they are formed to provide their cause legitimacy and disappear there after (Lund et al., 2000). These organisations are highly political and competitive in some cases.

Zack et al., (2014) points out that even though these informal trade organisations are in place, the negative consequences of informal trading is attributed to the poor and inappropriate organisations or leaders in charge. Often those who are in these leadership positions are headed by strong, personalised male leadership (Benit-Gbaffou, 2016). This poses a challenge for the adequate representation of women in these organisations. After Operation Clean Sweep in 2013, there had been deep entrenchment of divisions and resentment (Benit-Gbaffou, 2016). This was because of politics and as well as the self interest in their agendas, that had been displayed by some groups. While informal trader organisations provide a means of addressing the needs of informal traders, they can get caught up in politics and personal interest agendas., which tend to slow down the momentum of the cause or in some cases and lose members as well (Lund et al., 2000).

In addition to informal trading organisations there are other Non-Governmental Organisations and No-profit organisations, who advocate and facilitate the needs of informal traders. One of these is SERI, Socio-Economic Rights Institute of South Africa (SERI). This non-profit human rights organisation develops and implements strategies to challenge inequality and realise socio-economic rights in South Africa. This organisation is one of the many that are persistent in providing more inclusive approaches for informal traders. These approaches are socially constructed, and information is shared based on trust and from a relationship that had been fostered (Benit-Gbaffou, 2016). As such these institutions become biased to their own or collective vision and ideas on what should be constituted for informal traders. However, according to Simone (2004) civil society has lacked the political and economic power to make changes to the diversity of activities taking place within the city. There is a missing element that is within civil society. Even so, the papers written by SERI are internationally recognized. So too is the work done by Studies in Poverty and Inequality Institute (SPII). SPII provides through a few projects a means of corroborating the experiences of NGOs and community-based organisations, in addressing poverty and inequality.

3.4.2 Regulatory Forces

According to Lund et al., (2000) a policy is meant to assist local government officials by providing guidance and a common reference point. In addition, it is meant to help make sure that the number of different departments which deal with informal traders have the same goals. It can also assist when authorities are making long-term plans for a city. National policy identifies the informal economy as important to development. It therefore provides local government with the task of managing and developing street traders rather than simply removing or strictly controlling them (Skinner, 2000). At

a national scale, informal trading policies have supportive frameworks for the countries informal trading (Benit-Gbaffou, 2015). According to Fainstein (2010) scaling down to municipal planning from a national level, is not a part of national government planning. However, at a municipal governance scale specific planning and direction for development should be according to municipal needs. Therefore, at a municipality scale, informal trading policies should be more explicit to address the unique needs of the informal traders in the specific city.

Policies at a municipal scale have had a dual and often contradictory mandate to alleviate poverty and promote economic development (Benit-Gbaffou, 2015). According to Rogerson (2000) policies require simplistic and strategic interventions to informal trade. As such if the policy is intended to support informal trader's growth, it should be focused on that directly. Therefore, in addressing poverty alleviation, policies directed towards informal trader interventions should pertain to poverty alleviation among informal traders. As such, poverty alleviation should be a by-product of the objectives within the informal trading policy and should be indicated on its own with in a different policy.

In contemporary South Africa, informal trade is of great social and economic significance, and as such problematic policy concerns need to be addressed by local government (Rogerson, 2008; Skinner, 2008b; Zack, 2015). The bureaucratic system of the Johannesburg institutional structure imposes administrative burdens that have a regulatory response. This provides the perception that most problems can and should be dealt with by means of an appropriate policy. However, in reflecting on Johannesburg's informal trading policy history and the shortcomings of these, there is an indication that the task of designating and regulating trading space is not a technical site selection and allocation process (Crush and Chikanda, 2015).

"In theory, the selection of the 'best' policy is a simple matter of calculation."

(Campbell and Marshall 2006:242, as cited in Fainstein, 2010:38)

Policy formulation should be a reflection of and response to intertwined economic, social and spatial logics (Todes, 2011). Despite this, according to Harrison, Todes and Watson (2008) policy regarding informal trade has been ambiguous and has placed very little attention to gender, diversity and poverty. Yet Rogerson (1996) argued that policies should be designed with specific groups needs in mind. Therefore, the lack of integrating various intertwined elements into a policy has resulted in some gaps in policy, and the implementation of these policies (Todes, 2011).

While the above-mentioned characteristics and constraints of informal trading policy are valid according to Rogerson (2000) there are four main issue clusters for policy intervention. Policies are

vague in their interpretation, yet there are these factors that affect the positive effects of the informal trading policies. These include:

- I. Access to finance and credit;
- II. inadequacies in the content and delivery of education and training;
- III. business infrastructure and service provision; and
- IV. expanding market opportunities.

According to Lund et al., (2000) informal trading policies help to set overall direction and guiding principles for informal traders. Without these in place it would be left to by-laws, which are more directed to restricting informal trading. Therefore, in using policy to benefit informal traders and officials, in terms of planning, the previous mentioned factors affecting the policy interventions require addressing.

3.4.3 Infrastructure Forces

Informal traders are faced with the lack of adequate storage and display facilities, shelter, public services, water flow, toilets, transport and electricity (Lund et al, 2000, Skinner, 2008a). For the last three decades, increased informal trading activities on the streets of Johannesburg have added pressure on infrastructural services (Zack et al., 2014). This has been accompanied by municipal discourse that is readily associates informal trade with congestion, littering and even crime (Crush and Chikanda, 2015). Improved roads and pedestrian ways improved the foot flow within those areas (Rakodi, 2002). The provision of road and transport infrastructure are important in the provision of accessibility, in addition to positively affecting land values (Todes, 2011). Therefore, the provision of infrastructure not only improves access to the city by pedestrians and motorist, it also improves business opportunities for informal traders, it also increases the values of the land.

The allocation of funds for infrastructure is a critical element of urban governance (Rakodi, 2002). This can be seen in the allocation of space, while at the same time a lack of sufficient infrastructure to meet the needs of traders. However, it has been also noted that infrastructure designs are enabled, prohibited and shaped by political forces (Zavestoski and Agyeman, 2015). While informal traders pay for their permits, they are not provided with infrastructure to meet their needs (Skinner, 2000). This could be discouraging for traders who spend this money every month for the permit. Good quality infrastructure for informal traders could provide a means of secure physical structures for conducting their trading and economic activities. The provision of sustainable infrastructure that meets their needs provides informal traders with assurance in times of bad weather (Rakodi, 2002), while also providing the right infrastructure for the right types of trades could increase safety of the informal traders and the pedestrians making use of those spaces (Lund et al., 2000). Therefore, in the allocation

of informal trading spaces through governance structures, plans should also ensure the provision of adequate infrastructure. The provision of infrastructure for informal traders ensures that their needs are met, through governance and through their efforts to become registered. This provides traders with assurance in the governing institutions.

The provision of such infrastructure; if sustainable in their use, implementation and their materials, it would improve the longevity of its use. In addition to which if structure could provide multiple use, it would meet more needs than the provision of shelter and a stand (Behrens and Watson, 1996). Such additional uses include the provision for storage, if not overnight storage but at least for during trading hours. This would provide storage of valuable or access items for sale. The lack of safety features in the stalls of informal traders increases their vulnerability to theft and robbery (Rakodi, 2002). Therefore, the provision of infrastructure is more than the structure itself; it increases opportunities to improve their business and livelihood.

However, other types of infrastructure in terms of open space, parks, community facilities and social facilities are just as important. The provision of infrastructure close to transport nodes and other major nodes, provide easier access to customers (Behrens and Watson, 1996). This would provide an opportunity for informal traders to also make use of these facilities; public toilets, transport and shelter; if need be. The lack of these facilities, places informal traders under strain when in need of these facilities. This is increasingly so when female informal traders, or male in some cases, need to take care of sick children. The provision of these facilities close to trading areas would provide informal traders easier and quick access.

3.5 Subsidiary Questions

This section draws on the different components used in this literature review to establish the subsidiary questions. These are displayed in the table below:

Urban Planning Principles Perspective	How can urban planning improve opportunities for informal traders using urban planning principles?
Urban Livelihoods Perspective	How could people-centred and place-based strategies be useful in meeting the needs of informal traders? What opportunities do informal traders want to be given?
Urban Public Space Perspective	What aspects or character of the Johannesburg inner-city can be improved in facilitating informal trade?
The Forces Affecting Informal traders	
Institutional Forces	What aspects of the local government structures have negatively affected informal traders?
Regulatory Forces	How have informal trade policies secured development opportunities for traders?
Infrastructural Forces	How has infrastructure, or the lack thereof, affected informal trader's livelihood strategies and opportunities of economic growth?

Table 3.1: Subsidiary Questions (Authors own, 2017)

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted various theoretical perspectives on informal trading. These were supplemented with perspectives on urban public space and key urban planning principles that seek to improve the strategic planning for informal traders. Institutional, regulatory and infrastructural forces that affect informal traders were examined. The next chapter presents the findings from various case studies carried out for this research. In doing so, aspects of grey literature that had not been included in this chapter will be included in the next. These include a review and discussion of policies, plans and laws that will be included as well.

CHAPTER 4

Findings and Discussion

The Purpose of this Chapter

This chapter provides a discussion on the research findings and analysis thereof. These findings were collected using research methods and techniques discussed in chapter two of this research paper. The chapter will start off with the context of the case study areas, followed by discussion and analysis of the findings.

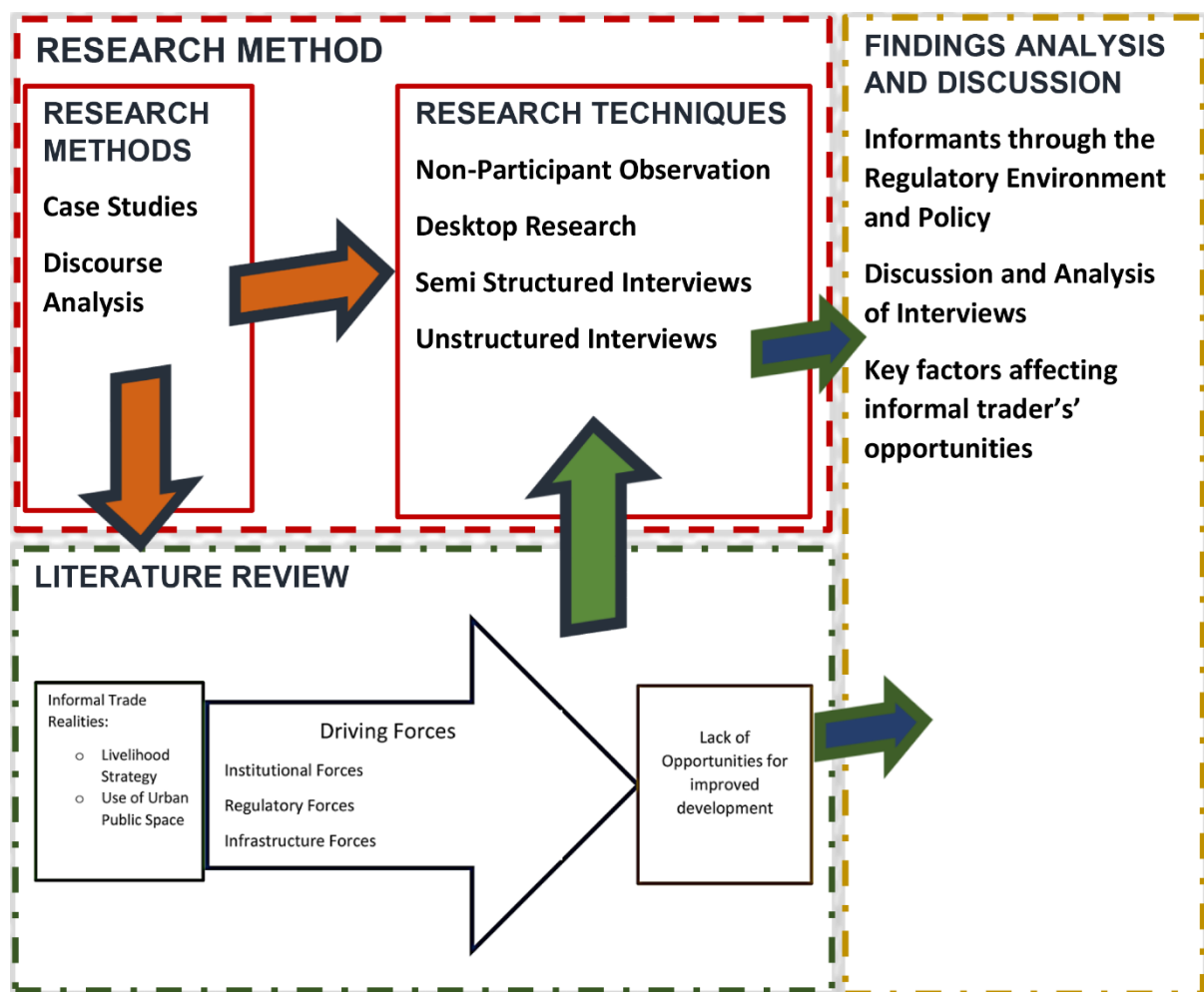


Figure 4.1: Diagram displaying process used to gather the findings used in this chapter (Authors own, 2017)

4.1 Contextualizing Case Study Areas

The City of Johannesburg is located at what has come to be known as the economic heartland of South Africa (Bremmer, 2005). This study looks at three case studies within the inner-city of Johannesburg, that falls within Region F (see Figure 4.2). Of the seven regions, Region F contains proportionally the

most informal traders within Johannesburg (see Figure 4.3). During the 1990s to the mid-1990s, the inner-city of Johannesburg had undergone a massive transformation with formal and privately-owned businesses moving out of the inner city (Grant and Thompson, 2015). According to Tomlinson, Beauregard, Bremmer and Mangcu (2003) the most visible change since then has been the growth of the informal sector. Within the City of Johannesburg these activities have led to overcrowding of the inner-city streets (Bremmer, 2005). According to Benit-Gbaffou (2015) this has been largely due to a lack of informality lacking political imagination of what post-colonial cities informal trading could look like, in addition to the fact that urban planning has tended to ignore informality.

Informal trade is formed differently within different parts of the inner-city. Informal traders are found along streets, in and along taxi ranks, public squares and between buildings and pedestrianised walk ways. Three different informal trading locations have been chosen for this study, namely; Metro Mall, Kerk Street and Delver Street, as displayed in Figure 4.4. These three sites illustrate different characteristics and complexities that contribute to the informal economy in Johannesburg in various ways. Informal traders at all three locations experience different forces contributing to and affecting their opportunities. These three sites were chosen to provide different perspectives to the topic at hand, and in answering both main and subsidiary questions. They are therefore not a means of comparing the sites to one another.



Figure 4.2: Johannesburg Regions (Source: CoJ, 2009)

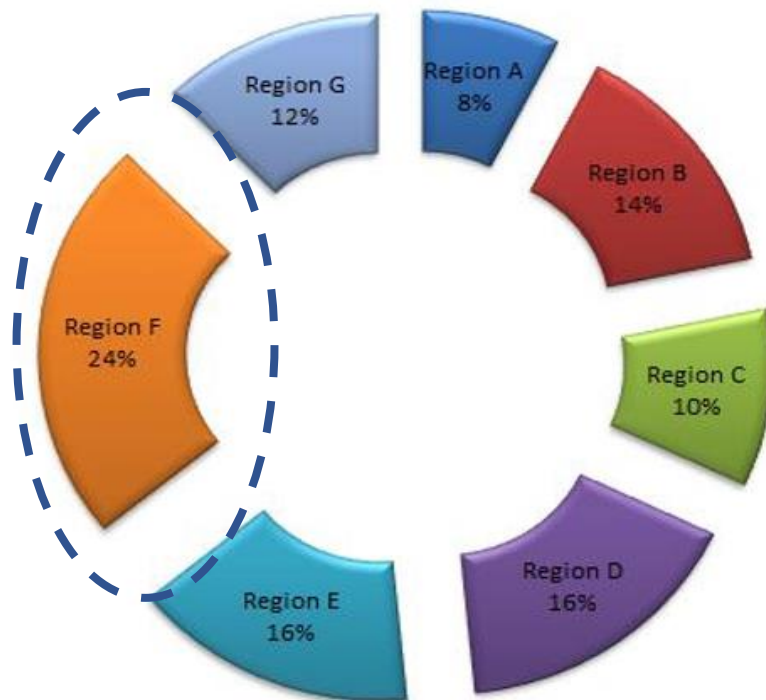


Figure 4.3: Distribution of informal trade within the City of Johannesburg (Source: Adapted from CoJ, 2014)



Figure 4.4: Location of Case Study Areas within the Johannesburg inner-city (GCRO GIS viewer, adapted by Author on Photoshop 2017)

4.1.1 Metro Mall Precinct

Metro Mall is in the inner-city of Johannesburg, and has been in operation since August 2002. It is located just over the Nelson Mandela Bridge, and is a neighbour to the Bree Street Taxi Rank and close to the Braamfontein Precinct, across the Nelson Mandela Bridge (see Figure 4.5). This transport interchange and trading facility had been specifically established to serve as a market place for Johannesburg informal and formal traders (see Figure 4.6). It is a brainchild of Blue IQ, a multi-billion-rand initiative of the Gauteng Provincial Government to invest in economic infrastructure development (Peyroux, 2007). It aimed to be a hub for about 450 informal traders, who are trading side by side with formal retailers – examples of these formal trades are Pie City and Standard Bank (Ludwig Hansen Architects and Urban Designers, 2002). Metro Mall forms part of the inner-city regeneration district of Newtown (also a Blue IQ project), which is aimed at the promotion of cultural industries (Peyroux, 2007). Informal traders are located within the transport interchange, and on the outside. The location of informal traders can be seen in Figure 4.6. The location of informal traders is at points of entry to Metro Mall and along pathways within the Metro Mall structure. The formal shops are located on the outskirts of Metro Mall, however informal traders can also be found along this strip. Even though the pavements are narrow, there are a few traders located there (see Figure 4.6). There are a few illegal traders, who are located opposite to the Metro Mall. Their presence plays a negative influence on the trading opportunities for legal traders (Informal Trader 1, interview, 24 July 2017).

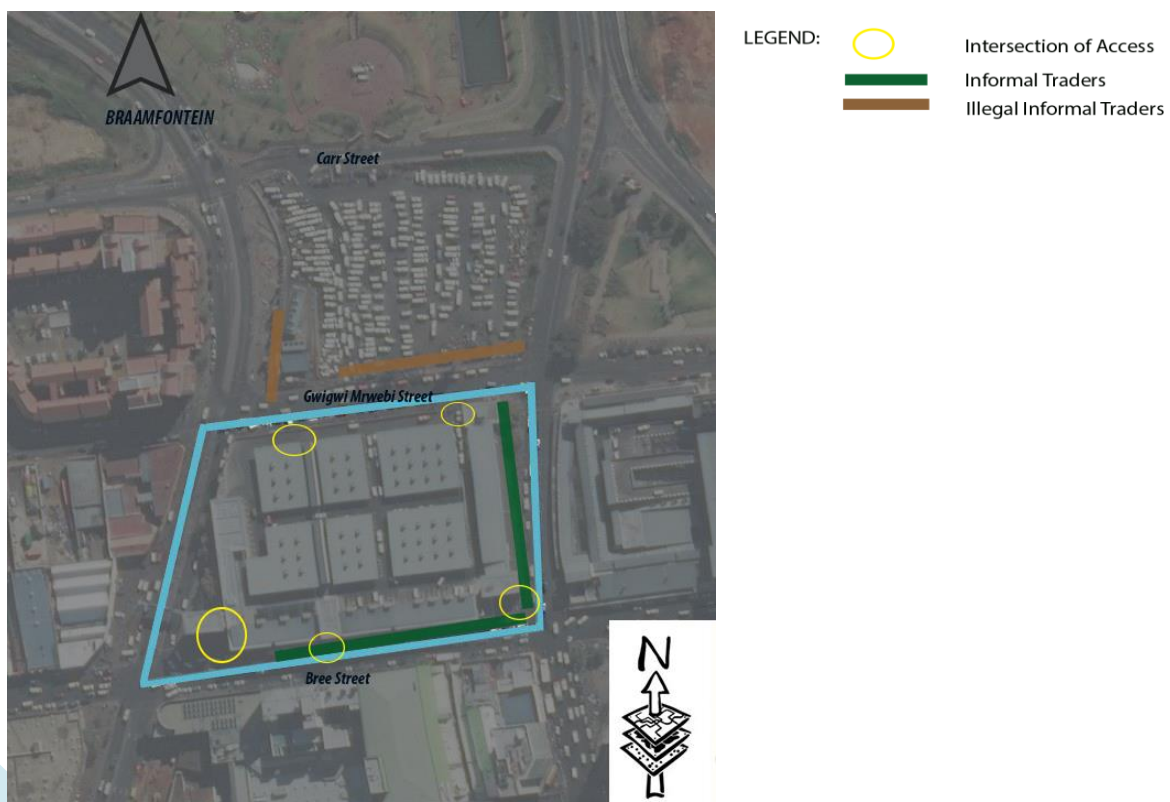


Figure 4.5: Metro Mall Case Study Area (GCRO GIS viewer, adapted by Author on Photoshop 2017)

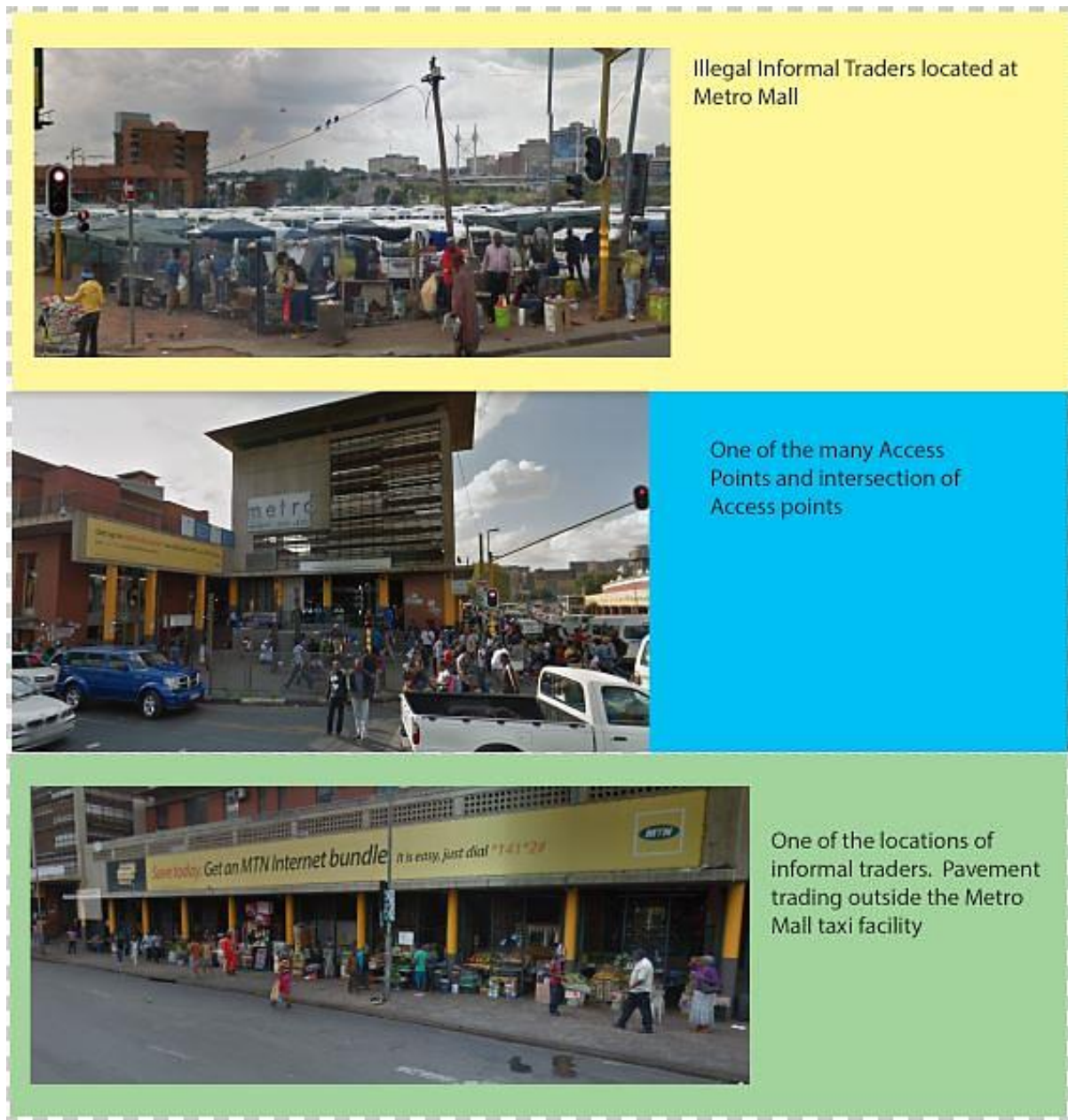


Figure 4.6: Clip Shots of Metro Mall Precinct (Source: Google Maps, 2017)

4.1.2 Delver Street Precinct

Delver Street was demarcated as a 'no-trading' area, but it experiences heavy informal trading and pedestrian movement between Lilian Ngoyi and Rahima Moosa (JDA, 2010). Delver Street is located near the heart of the inner-city, and is north-west of the old Fashion District (Figure 4.7). This precinct began to attract immigrants from different parts of Africa in the late 1990s (Grant and Thompson, 2015). Some of the businesses now owned formally on Delver street, started off as informal traders on the same street, many of whom are immigrant traders (Thompson and Grant, 2015). The precinct is dominated by informal traders' stalls and small formal retail stores at the bottom of the buildings. These buildings, which are located on the street, had been originally designed and built to cater for

medical practices, which had been abandoned in the 1990's (Zack, 2014, as Cited in Crush and Chikanda, 2015:68). These spaces now serve as formal retail stores that spill over on the streets through informal traders. Informal traders make use of the space, through municipally provided stands and make shift tables (see Figure 4.8). The pavements are narrow; there is hardly any space for informal traders, let alone pedestrians, especially along the side of the street where formal business are located. The street gets particularly busy with the movement of pedestrians, as this part of town is a high movement area (Informal trader 4, interview, 24 July 2017). Delver street is also known as a breeding ground for pickpocketing by criminals. This has been due to the close proximity that pedestrians have to walk side by side due to the unavailability of sidewalk space (JDA, 2010).



Figure 4.7: Delver Street Case Study Area (GCRO GIS viewer, adapted by Author on Photoshop 2017)



Figure 4.8: Clip Shots of Delver Street Precinct (Source: Google Maps, 2017)

4.1.3 Kerk Street Precinct

Kerk Street is located in the inner-city of Johannesburg, as seen in Figure 4.9. It is located adjacent to the FNB campus and in the middle of a collection of formal and well known commercial stores. Kerk Street is one of the City's Retail Improvement District hubs and is managed by the private sector who are a part of the precinct RID' forum. The informal traders form part of the linear market, which is closed off to motorists and is pedestrianised. The space is managed by the RIDs in providing security, cleaning services and shelter, as can be seen in Figure 4.10. Kerk Street had been a motorised road prior to being closed to motor movement by the City. The resultant Erf was then given pedestrian movement rights and informal traders were allowed to trade in the space (Jackson, Interview, 7 August 2017). The informal traders are located in the centre of this street and pedestrians walk along the opposite ends of the street. There are various access points to Kerk Street, as seen in Figure 4.9. As seen in Figure 4.10, informal traders sell different goods ranging from bags to fruit and vegetables, as well as hair dressing services.



LEGEND:

-  Intersection of Access
-  Informal Traders
-  Access ways

Figure 4.9: Kerk Street Case Study Area (GCRO GIS viewer, adapted by Author on Photoshop 2017)

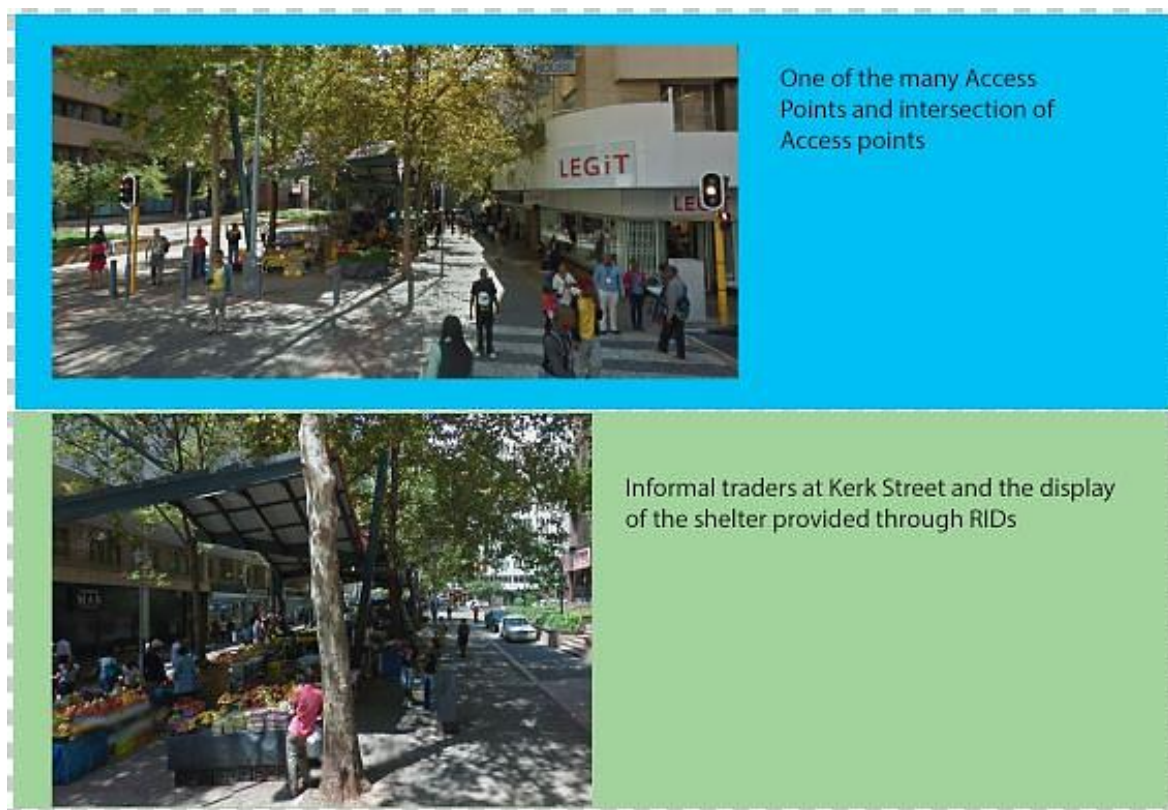


Figure 4.10: Clip Shots of Kerk Street Precinct (Source: Google Maps, 2017)

4.2 Informants through the Regulatory Environment and Policy

As discussed in previous chapters, this research looks at three forces that influence the shape and govern informal trading spaces and opportunities. These are; institutional, regulatory and infrastructural forces. This section will evaluate these driving forces according to their contribution to the livelihood strategies of the informal traders. *This section makes use of a number of acronyms; therefore, these are written out in full.*

4.2.1 Institutional Forces

The municipality interacts with the informal economy at the level of policymaking and law enforcement. In addition, there are interactions at a level of capital investment, regulation and day-to-day responses to informal economic activities (Zack et al., 2014). The institutional forces are divided into local government, civil society and private sector. Through interviews and discourse research, an understanding of this institutional structure was made clear. Figure 4.11, is a display of this structure that was adapted from Benit-Gbaffou (2017).

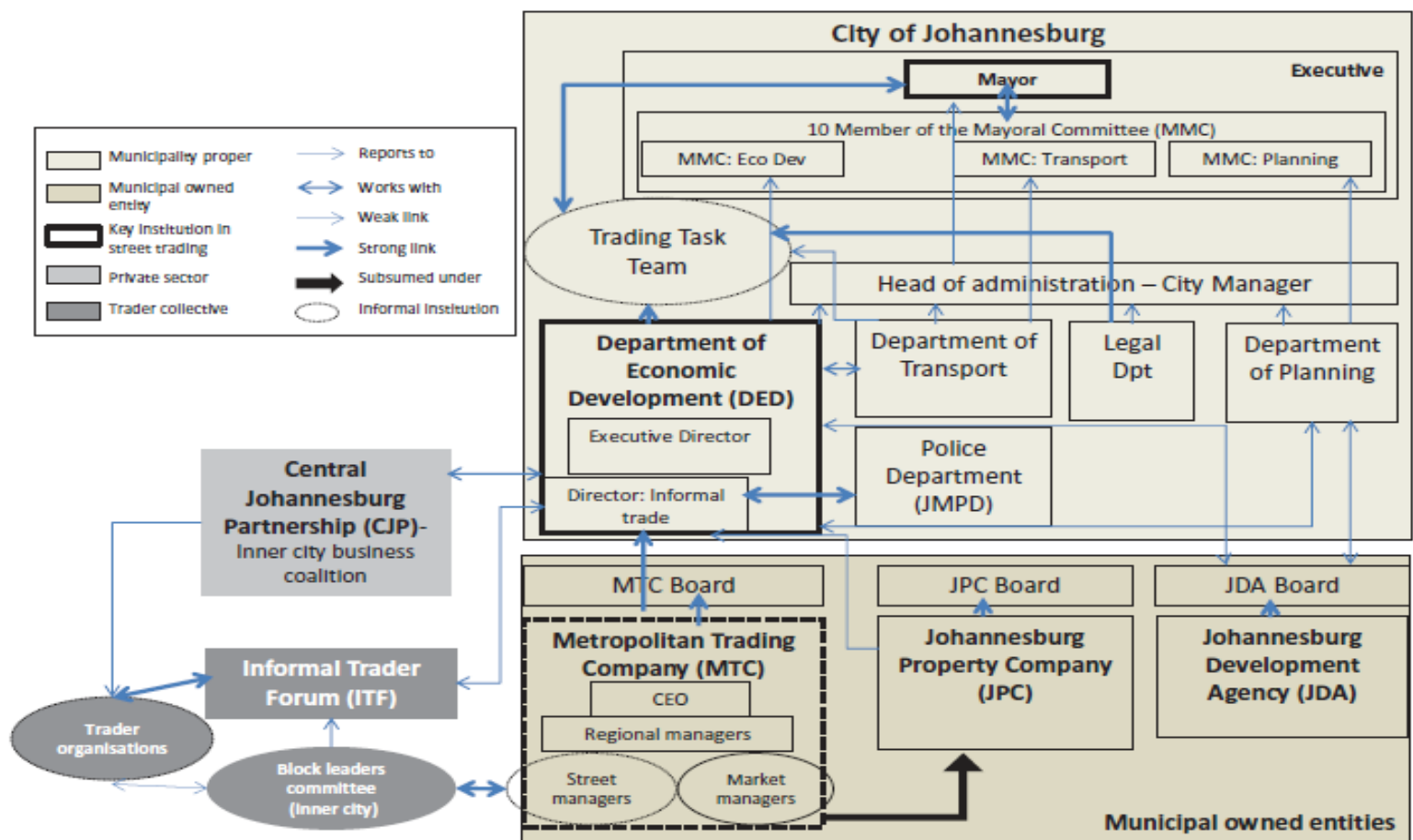


Figure 4.11: Institutional Structure responsible for informal trade Johannesburg (Source: Benit-Gbaffou, 2017)

Local Government

Informal trading is an economic activity within the city of Johannesburg, and it falls under the Department of Economic Development (DED). This is within the Small Medium and Micro-Enterprise (SMME) Development and Support directorate. The SMME Development and Support Directorate is directed to shape conditions for accelerated local economic growth that is sustainable and to ensure that there are benefits for all Small Medium and Micro-Enterprise (SMME) (CoJ, 2017). Informal trade has various social elements and components to it, which are not all covered by the Department of Economic Development (Pingo, interview, 21 July 2017). The governance of informal trade in most countries fall under a diversity of departments (Lund and Skinner, 2004). The tendency for the informal traders to survivalist strategies can be seen as more of a social service than an economic one.

The Department of Economic Development (DED) is responsible for drawing up of informal trading policy and by-laws, while also administrating and issuing trading allocations to informal traders (Benit-Gbaffou, 2015; Jackson, interview, 7 August 2017). There have been a number of concerns about the current policy and by-laws that are perceived as intending to protect municipalities rather than to empower traders (Benit-Gbaffou, 2015).

Benit-Gbaffou (2017) questions the personalisation of power in the City, since there has been one Department of Economic Development (DED) official in charge of informal trading since the early 2000s (Benit-Gbaffou, 2017). Due to the cluster of responsibility and duty around one person, there is little room for delegation and shared knowledge. This has restricted what can be done in the City. There have also been reports that the official concerned, is difficult to get hold of and does not easily engage with different entities responsible for informal trade (Jackson, interview, 7 August 2017). While there is no doubt that the individual concerned has gained considerable knowledge and expertise through holding the post, it is still puzzling as to why one person is granted so much responsibility.

The Department of Economic Development (DED), along with the Johannesburg Property Company (JPC) are the main institutional bodies responsible for informal trade within the inner City. Johannesburg Property Company (JPC) provides leases, completes property management and facilitates infrastructure provided on Johannesburg properties (Pingo, interview, 21 July 2017). Therefore, due to informal traders being located on Council owned property, the Johannesburg Development Company (JPC) is an important role player in the management structure. The Metro Trading Company (MTC) had been mandated to allocate trading sites, manage lease agreements and trading rental fees (Benit-Gbaffou, 2017). This includes the management of Metro Mall. Due to the lack of financial sustainability, allegedly a result of corruption, the Metro Trading Company's (MTC)

assets and functions were transferred to Johannesburg Property Company (JPC) (Mafune, interview, 7 August 2017; Benit-Gbaffou, 2015).

As shown in Figure 4.11, the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) and the Johannesburg Metropolitan Police Department (JMPD) play a role in the development of informal trading spaces. However, they do not have a strong relationship with other institutional bodies, but do have working relationships. These are particularly between the Department of Development Planning and the Department of Economic Development (DED). Through the implementation of projects and the allocation of facilities by the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA), these are handed over to the Johannesburg Property Company (JPC) to manage and further facilitate (Pingo, interview, 21 July 2017). In the management of informal trade from the City's side, Region F Citizen Relations and Urban Management (CRUM) undertake this role. This management is largely completed through JMPD (Mafune, interview, 7 August 2017). The Johannesburg Metropolitan Police Department (JMPD) have a strong working relationship with informal traders, largely through law enforcement.

Within this institutional structure the key guidelines that run through the different departments and entities are the informal trading policies and the by-laws. There are no clear or long-standing urban planning principles that are used through-out the various levels of the institutional structure. In addition, the importance of informal trading as a livelihood strategy is not recognised within these documents, nor is it seen in the management of informal traders. There are thus various and multiple role players within the management and facilitation structure over informal trade, each one with their own prime missions and goals, of which informal trade is just a by-product of their wider development strategies and management regimes.

Private Sector

Through City Improvement Districts (CIDs) the City's plans and efforts are supposed to improve management of informal traders on the streets, and to move them into market spaces.

“.. a way of dealing with existing street traders without questioning the policy and institutional instruments is to delegate it to a third party.”

(Benit-Gbaffou, 2017:17)

Urban management of informal trading areas are facilitated through the Johannesburg Inner City Partnership (JICP). JICP have a role of facilitating growth and transformation for all inner-city stakeholders through collaboration between the City, other spheres of government and the private sector (Steffney, interview, 9 August 2016). It was through this partnership that the CIDs had started.

Through the CID forum, there are various Improvement Districts. The inner-city district is managed by RMS Property and Facilities Management (Pingo, interview, 21 July 2017).

“The delegation of street trading management to the private sector, for areas falling into City Improvement Districts, could be understood as a third example of how the City seeks to accommodate the reality of street trading without shifting the lines, directions and institutions of street trading management within the CoJ.”

(Benit-Gbaffou, 2015:63)

The Johannesburg Inner City Partnership (JICP) has not always been in support of informal trading, but this changed in the late 1990s and early 2000s (Benit-Gbaffou, 2015). Originally, the Johannesburg Inner City Partnership (JICP) lobbied the City Council to extend street trading prohibition to the City Improvement Districts (CoJ, 2005). They also later supported the City’s proposals for locating all street traders in markets or linear markets, prohibiting other pavement trading (Benit-Gbaffou, 2015). The Johannesburg Inner City Partnership’s (JICP) work has not eliminated informal trading on the pavements, but has improved trading within certain parts of the city (Pingo, interview, 21 July 2017).

The partnership within the Retail Improvement District management of Kerk Street was originally managed by Urban Genesis, who had been liquidated and bought over by Cushman and Wakefield Excellerate (Masipa, interview, 11 August 2017). City Improvement Districts (CIDs) operate within areas where majority of property owners agree to pay an extra levy to be spent in the City Improvement District (CIDs) area for urban management (Benit-Gbaffou, 2015). These property owners elect a board of property owners, who decide how the funds should be spent and how to delegate everyday management of informal traders (Benit-Gbaffou, 2015).

The Johannesburg Inner City Partnership (JICP) performs the key roles of lobbyist, strategist, coordinator and mediator between the service providers (CIDs) and the City departments and municipal entities (especially JDA, DED and JPC) (Steffany, interview, 9 August 2017). They have provided security and cleaning services for informal traders within their district. However, City Improvement Districts have very little interaction with informal Trader Organisations and in listening to ideas and plans of informal traders (Webster, interview, 26 July 2017).

Civil Society

There are a number of informal Trader Organisations within the inner-city of Johannesburg. The main ones are; South African National Traders and Retailers Alliances (SANTRA), South African Informal Traders Forum (SAITF), One voice, Gauteng Informal Development Alliance (GIDA) and JOWEDET (Phaloooh, interview, 7 August 2017). However, membership is fluid and traders move between the

Trader Organisations (Phalooh, interview, 7 August 2017). Informal Trading Organisations, despite their shortcomings, persist in the political landscape of developing cities (Benit-Gbaffou, 2016). There have been different causes for the formation of informal Trader Organisations, with key issues in recent years being 2013's Operation Clean Sweep. These organisations have politically organised themselves and have been helpful in making the voices of traders heard. This is done through different means of communication and processes. Block leaders represent the informal traders within their block or market: these block leaders, and then meet with the chair of the organisation to voice these concerns (Phalooh, interview, 7 August 2017). There have been issues with not everyone's opinions and suggestions been taken into consideration (Informal trader 1, interview, 24 July 2017), which resulted in the move of informal traders from one organisation to another. Some informal traders have decided not to participate in Trader Organisations and have given up on the City as well.

"It is best to come to work, mind my own business and work, then go home."

(Informal Trader 2, interview, 24 July 2017)

"What is better, is to forget that there is Trader Organisations and that there is a government. We are on our own."

(Informal Trader 5, interview, 24 July 2017)

While a few comments have been negative concerning Informal Trader organisations, there have been positive sentiments as well. The South African Informal Traders Forum (SAITF) and the South African National Traders and Retailers Alliances (SANTRA) successfully challenged Operation Clean Sweep in Court (Benit-Gbaffou, 2016). In addition, the South African Informal Traders Forum (SAITF) worked to ensure better partnerships with the City (Phalooh, interview, 7 August 2017). This included training on saving techniques, management, customer services and marketing (Phalooh, interview, 7 August 2017). Through Trader Organisations and NGOs, such as the Socio-Economic Rights Institute (SERI), informal traders have been made aware of the policies that govern their sector. For some informal traders, this had been the only means of hearing and being informed on policies and the by-laws that govern their trade.

4.2.2 Regulatory Forces

The policies of various spheres of government do not always coincide (Benit-Gbaffou, 2017). At a national level, informal trade is seen as a form of poverty alleviation. At a local level it has been seen as a nuisance, a cause of littering and congestion (Benit-Gbaffou, 2017). Section 22 of the Constitution states that there should be a careful balance between the need for regulation and the prevention of a person's freedom to choose their economic activity (Republic of South Africa, 1996). In the last

twenty years of policy-making, the City has directly and obliquely affected informal trade (Zack et al., 2014).

“For the city of Johannesburg, informal trading is a positive development in the micro business sector as it contributes to the creation of jobs and alleviation of poverty and has the potential to expand further the City’s economic base.”

(CoJ, 2010:3)

The Johannesburg informal trading policy has been described as progressive towards the improvement of informal trader’s’ livelihoods opportunities. Even so these policies have been reactive, rather than proactive to the realities faced by informal traders. This affects efficiency in the implementation of policies that could be used to improve informal trader’s’ opportunities.

“The City of Johannesburg, if put on an international scale, has a more progressive policy towards street trading than most other cities in the old or the global South (adopting predominantly restrictive approaches), in that it recognizes the legitimacy of street trading in its inner-city. But, still endorsing restrictive approaches to street trading, it is far from being the most pro-active and innovative in including street traders into inner cities landscapes and economies.”

(Benit-Gbaffou, 2015:10)

“With specific reference to informal trading, the City’s vision is: To create a well-managed informal trading sector which talks to the needs of its stakeholders and is effectively integrated into the economic, spatial and social development goals of the City”

(CoJ, 2010:4).

Through the DED technical systems are used to mitigate the perceived nuisance of informal trading (Benit-Gbaffou, 2017). This is seen through the demarcation of pavements not as public space but as road reserves. Through road reserve policies the City is able to regulate and enforce laws by removing informal traders from these spaces (Jackson, interview, 7 August 2017). This is a means of containing informal traders within linear markets and market places (CoJ, 2010). The informal trading policy displays the City’s preference for informal trade to take place within linear markets in the inner-city. In this the needs of traders on pavements or mobile informal traders are poorly covered by the informal trading policy (Zack et al., 2014). The practicality and nature in which informal trading takes place is not taken into consideration within informal trading policies. Nor are the management of conflicting land uses considered within the policy (Zack et al., 2014). Informal traders need to be in

areas with high foot flow and access to pedestrian movement. The informal trade policy does not address solid issues of the pavement being a public space or not, and the management thereof. Informal trading has spatial, economic and social fluidity (Benit-Gbaffou, 2017), which is not recognized in the informal trading policy. Informal traders respond to the stimulation of their environment. These stimulations are a means of management controls, time of the day, weather changes and the location of customers.

In the City's quest to locate informal traders into markets, there has been persistence and proactive attempts. Through the City Improvement District (CID) forum informal traders have been increasingly encouraged through urban management, to be located within linear markets. An example of this is Kerk Street. In addition to this the City has been pursuing the construction of new markets since the early 2000s. Metro Trading Company (MTC) were supposed to manage these markets. Metro Mall is one of these markets that were constructed to contain informal traders, and to meet the objective set out in the policy. According to Benit-Gbaffou (2017) capital-investment is more easily available to develop markets, than operational budgets. Through the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) and Johannesburg Property Company (JPC) capital is invested to the development of markets, which is cheaper compared to operational budgeting. This entails more day to day management of the space. Through City Improvement Districts (CIDs) these are handed over to private sector in managing the markets, which places the City on par with addressing and obeying its policy to improve market spaces for informal traders. Even so, there are still many informal traders who are located outside of these markets.

In Johannesburg there are multiple formal documents that demonstrate authorization given to informal traders to trade. These include the smart card system, the older trading permits, trading site lease agreements and rent payment invoices (Clark, 2014, as cited in Benit-Gbaffou, 2017:15). The system is flawed and not implemented consistently. According to informal traders, some have smart cards but have been waiting for years to be allocated a trading site (Chikie, interview, 24 July 2017). While others pay rent to Metro Trading Company (MTC) but have no lease to serve as proof of their agreement and payment to the City, which provides legitimacy to their trade. Policy requires traders to receive validity to trade, through lease agreements, pay rent or through smart cards. There are no policies that clarify the situation and enumerate the existing status of informal traders (Benit-Gbaffou, 2017).

There is a lack of attempt in the creation of a database with the authorized traders and their location within the inner-city of Johannesburg (Benit-Gbaffou, 2017). This is attributed to the lack of connection between the City and informal traders, in addition to the lack of eyes on the streets in

managing informal trade from the City's perspective. Informal trade been managed by the Department of Economic Development (DED), but the spatial element in locating traders has been lost.

The South African Local Government Association (SALGA) (2016) states that policy needs to take as broad a view as possible and be relevant to as large a portion of the informal economy as possible. This could be a reason for the broad spectrum of aspects covered within the informal trading policy. However, the South African Local Government Association (SALGA) also states that the entire informal economy needs to be included into the overall planning structure, rather than the adoption of a fragmented approach in dealing with parts of the informal economy (Zack et al., 2014). There is no overall planning tool or planning structure for informal traders (Jackson, interview, 7 August 2017).

The National Informal Business Upliftment Strategy, NIBUS, (2014) is a document that states that government recognises that it has been unsuccessful in laying ground for small, medium and micro-enterprise entry into economic development and expansion (Zack et al., 2014). The National Informal Business Upliftment Strategy (NIBUS) encourages municipalities to develop and maintain a database of informal businesses, and establish informal business forums (Zack et al., 2014). These forums would be a means of raising issues, improving participation in decision making and inclusion of informal traders as stakeholders (NIBUS, 2014). The informal trading chamber was meant to be comprised of appointed representatives from all informal trading organisations, representatives of all legitimate market committee representatives (CoJ, 2010). The informal trader forum was supposed to be a means of improving such networks between the Department of Economic Development (DED) and the informal traders. However, due to its lack of activities and the lack of accessibility to the Department of Economic Development (DED) this has failed. As seen in Figure 4.11, the link between the Department of Economic Development (DED) and informal traders, and informal Trader Organisations had declined. Figure 4.11 also illustrates the block leader committees, which were organized by Metro Trading Company (MTC). However, in recent years block committees tend to be more self-organised through informal traders. The block leaders take on day to day communications between informal traders and the trader organisations.

4.2.3 Infrastructural Forces

The provision of infrastructure can become backlogged within the bureaucracy of management. The Johannesburg Road Agency (JRA) is responsible for the provision and maintenance of roads and pavements. The Department of Economic Development (DED) hold the final say and decision with regards to the type of infrastructure for informal traders and the location of this. Therefore, once the Department of Economic Development (DED) have standardized the design of stalls for informal

traders, the provision thereof through the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) or City Improvement Districts (CIDs) would have to follow the design set out by the Department of Economic Development (DED) (Pingo, interview, 21 July 2017). Often these plans and decisions have given little to no consideration for the range and different needs of different types of informal traders, which would affect the type of infrastructure needed by various traders (Webster, interview, 28 July 2017). Due to this lack of knowledge on how informal traders operate and the various needs of informal traders, infrastructure that is approved by the Department of Economic Development (DED) has not met the needs of traders (Webster, interview, 26 July 2017).

Through the City Improvement Districts (CIDs) partnerships with the City, plans are made where the City provides infrastructure or subsidizes this, and the CIDs provide urban management for these spaces. In Kerk Street the provision of the shelter is made available for traders was rejected, as informal traders felt that they could arrange and organize themselves (Masipa, interview, 11 August 2017). Informal traders have their own arrangement in the location of their stalls among their peers, while also making room available for new traders if need be (Informal trader 3, interview, 24 July 2017). At Kerk Street there are a few informal traders who sell cooked items, which they prepare on site. These traders make use of gas stoves and mobile water (Informal trader 3, interview, 24 July 2017).

This infrastructure cannot necessarily be supplied in all informal trading locations. In addition to which, in the lack of provision of these structures informal traders have found ways of making their trade work within their trading locations. At Metro Mall, stalls are provided for informal traders, which are in turn divided and shared by various traders. There are a few kitchen areas, which traders who provide cooked food make use of. These stalls have water and electricity. The water price is included in the monthly rent payment and the electricity is prepaid (Informal trader 2, interview, 24 July 2017). Those making use of kitchen stall areas, have space to store their items. Informal traders on the outskirts of the Metro Mall area are provided with stalls that are able to be locked up and therefore have storage areas. Informal traders in this location have a sense of community and support: a few traders who have stalls that function as storage facilities, use the extra space within their stalls to store the goods of those who do not have stalls available. Even so, this is not a system that all the traders use to store items. This system is similar for traders who are located on Delver Street and Kerk Street, some of whom also store their items within the formal retail business stores at a fee, or move with their goods when they leave for the night (Informal trader 3, interview, 24 July 2017).

Transport nodes are a key draw card for informal traders. This is due to people drawn to these locations due to the need to make use of a bus or taxi service within these nodes. Through the location

of informal traders within these areas, they are in eye shot of commuters. This provides easy access of traders to supply for the ready needs of pedestrians and commuters within these spaces. Within Metro Mall the informal traders are located along the edges of passages, both inside the nodal area and outside. This gives the informal traders an opportunity to be in walking distance of commuters leaving or coming to the taxi node. With a high number of people and pedestrian movements, it increases the traders' exposure to potential customers. In addition to these customers, taxi drivers are also a key customer for informal traders. Due to storage being a problem for informal traders, many find themselves commuting with their items. A few traders have transport systems, which provides an income for other people in their communities who have vehicles. Informal traders also make use of taxi services in the morning and at night (Informal trader, interview, 24 July 2017).

There have been advocates for the removal of informal traders, as put forward in meetings and in documents, citing that informal traders are the reason for failure to access and repair services (Zack et al., 2014), even though it is possible to ask traders to move for a day or a few hours to complete repairs on the street. However, the relocation of informal traders out of the inner-city and to less congested and less dense areas would decrease the business opportunities for informal traders. The positives of this would be the space available in the provision of infrastructure. However, the provision would become futile as traders would be displaced from their customers. The location of informal traders has little to do with the provision of infrastructure. Location of informal traders has everything to do with high pedestrian movement and location of customers (Informal trader 2, interview, 24 July 2017). The City has not struck the balance between meeting the needs of collective street and urban public space users, while also ensuring that services have access and movement to maintain and repair the infrastructure available for public use (Pingo, interview, 21 July 2017).

4.3 Discussion and Analysis of Interviews

This section presents a discussion of the findings drawn from the formal and informal interviews. These have been structured and grouped according to interviews conducted with City officials and private sector. Secondly, the interviews that were conducted with informal traders will be discussed and analysed. *The acronyms in this section are written in full at beginning and abbreviated thereafter.*

4.3.1 Officials from the City and private sector Interviews

Who are the key role players within the institutional structure?

Local Government

Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) is an entity within the City. Its primary focus is in area regeneration, project implementation and facilitation (Cohen, interview, 11 July 2017). In addition to this it is meant to provide support for projects and add value to community involvement. The JDA uses

capital as a tool to change perceptions of places and facilitate this change through projects (Pingo, interview, 21 July 2017). In terms of informal trade, over the past 16 years the JDA had catered for different informal trade policies, such as the linear markets. The JDA works with informal traders when they fall within a precinct plan (Cohen, interview, 11 July 2017). The JDA provides facilities and then gives these back to JPC to manage.

The JDA works between the Department of Economic Development (DED) and Johannesburg Property Company (JPC) in looking at innovative ways of improving informal trading spaces (Pingo, interview, 21 July 2017). The DED is responsible for policy development and the JPC is responsible for the management of facilities (Pingo, interview, 21 July 2017). The JPC acts as the manager of the City's properties and facilities provided on those properties (Cohen, interview, 11 July 2017). In terms of the facilitation of informal traders, this is a responsibility of JPC and the DED, but this has been questioned by various stakeholders (Webster, interview, 26 July 2017). There is a need for an institutional shift in allowing the JDA and Social Development to be more involved in the development and management of informal traders (Webster, interview, 26 July 2017). Such a move would recognise that there are more aspects to informal trading than the economic development of the traders, even though the functions that informal trade plays in the City has thus far been the responsibility to the DED (Jackson, interview, 7 August 2017).

The institutional make up is complex. According to the Business Act of 1996, the DED is in an adequate position to take responsibility for informal traders (Pingo, interview, 21 July 2017). In the line function of the DED there are massive internal functions on how the City works. There is one person responsible for many aspects of informal trade (Jackson, interview, 7 August 2017). This is not new to informal trading, but is an issue with the bureaucracy line functions (Webster, interview, 26 July 2017). There are institutions that want to see informal trade working in the City, however these plans get stuck in the bottle neck of bureaucracy (Webster, interview, 26 July 2017).

The DED takes a more pragmatic approach within their plans and actions (Anonymous, interview, 21 July 2017). This could be seen in their attempts to groom informal traders into formal business owners (Mafune, interview, 7 August 2017), although there is not enough research on how successful this is (Mafune, interview, 7 August 2017). The DED have implemented the informal trade forum, which has also not been as successful as it could have been (Webster, interview, 26 July 2017).

The Citizen Relations and Urban Management (CRUM) is responsible for urban management and facilities operation of the City. This includes the management through inspection of traders' permits and whether traders are trading in allocated and demarcated parts of the City for trading. There have been cases in which the Johannesburg Metro Police Department (JMPD) through CRUM have removed

traders due to complaints from formal business that the informal traders have been trading in unauthorised locations (Mafune, interview, 7 August 2017). In many of these cases it had been a result of miscommunication between the DED and CRUM, as areas had been allocated for informal trading, but this had not been communicated from the DED to CRUM (Mafune, interview, 7 August 2017).

“How things are being unravelled on the streets is challenging us as a City.”

(Anonymous, interview, 21 July 2017)

However, the City cannot stop the informal traders from trading for their living, and this has added to the increased management of the inner-city (Webster, interview, 26 July 2017). The lack of communication and linking in administration between the DED and CRUM is an issue. In addition, the attitude of the by-law enforcers need to be addressed as well (Anonymous, interview, 21 July 2017). There appears to be little social interaction and relational aspects in the way in which the Johannesburg Metropolitan Police Department (JMPD) enforce the law. The way in which they receive their attitude, is a matter of how they are instructed and institutionalised. JMPD have a strong connection and interaction with informal traders, most of which have been hostile (Webster, interview, 26 July 2017).

As projects unfold there is a bias towards property owners (Anonymous, interview, 21 July 2017). Increasingly the main voices that are heard are those who are property owners. (Anonymous, interview, 21 July 2017). Even though too early to tell if this is a certainty, this has been due to the new political administration of the Democratic Alliance in 2016 (Webster, interview, 26 July 2017). Informal traders are a part of the community; therefore, time and money should be invested in this economic sector (Anonymous, interview, 21 July 2017). However, if the City continues down a Neo-liberal approach, consideration of all members of the community would not be taken into consideration. Informal traders are not on the agenda of the current administration and plans appear to have been centred around urban regeneration and opening buildings for investment (Mafune, interview, 7 August 2017).

While these plans open room for investment and improved investment into Johannesburg, it does also open room for uncertainty and inequality. Economic development and future growth of cities should give priority to the interests of small businesses and local informal economies (Fainstein, 2010). Even though the informal sector is a small portion of the economic growth of the City, it does provide for the livelihood strategies for many people in the City. Therefore, plans for development in the City need to be fully cognisant of the development needs of the most vulnerable members of society. The

development of plans and policies the City should incorporate the needs and growth strategies of the collective society, and this includes informal traders.

Private Sector

The Johannesburg Inner City Partnership (JICP) is one of the key role players in the City Improvement Districts (CIDs). JICP is a means of facilitating growth in the inner-city of Johannesburg through all stakeholders within the City, including private and public players (Steffney, interview, 9 August 2017). Working relationships are important in the partnerships and growing those partnerships is important (Steffney, interview, 9 August 2017). Therefore, in the provision of services and facilities through CIDs, partnerships between private sector and the government are important. This includes the partnership with the informal traders.

Communication with informal traders are done through direct communication and contact with informal traders themselves. However, after Operation Clean Sweep in 2013, this communication had been increasingly done through communication with the legal teams working on the informal trader's cases (Steffney, interview, 9 August 2017). CIDs had been deemed unconstitutional in 2016, and had moved to becoming volunteer organisations (Steffney, interview, 9 August 2017). In the past CIDs had been compulsory, especially if they were conducted on the same street/district as other private sectors. Image 4.1 and 4.2 display two different types of CID areas.



Image 4.1: Main Street in the inner-city of Johannesburg, one of the City Improvement District managed areas. This urban public space provides an open access for pedestrian movement and a sense of placemaking. This space does not provide the inclusion of informal trades (Source: Authors Own, 2017)



Image 4.2: Kerk Street market in the inner-city of Johannesburg. This space is managed by the local City Improvement District, and provides a different set of placemaking compared to that at Main Street (Source: Fikeni, 2016)

Civil Society

Informal trading organisations are highly organised, but there is still a fair amount of disagreement within and between organisations (Webster, interview, 26 July 2017). This has been fostered in different organisations fighting for different outcomes. There are also some who feel lawyers should not have any say, as they add complications (Informal trader 1, interview, 24 July 2017). The South African National Traders and Retailers Alliance (SANDRA) and South African Informal Traders Forum (SAITF) would say involving lawyers was their last resort in helping them fight their cause (Webster, interview, 26 July 2017). However, the Socio-Economic Rights Institute (SERI) were the lawyers who worked with the informal trades, especially post Operation Clean Sweep in 2013 (Phaalok, interview, 7 August 2017).

The current relationship between informal traders and the City is not good (Webster, interview, 26 July 2017). The DED have been working on a plan to improve informal traders' conditions and development, post the Operation Clean Sweep at the end of 2013 till 2016 when the new administration had come in (Phaloooh, interview, 7 August 2017). The informal trader's associations have not heard much from the City since then. In fact, they plan on only writing to the Major this year, 2017, after giving them a year to settle into administration (Phaloooh, interview, 7 August 2017). For

informal traders what is important is the right to trade. Therefore, the City needs to be clearer with traders on the plans set out for them and also on the inclusion of informal traders into those plans (Webster, interview, 26 July 2017). While there are multiple stakeholders within the City, the interests of each of those stakeholders need to be taken into consideration.

Are the Informal Trading regulations effective?

The informal trading policies are inclusive and are just in their write up. Yet there is wide room for interpretation (Jackson, interview, 7 August 2017). This is where the problems with regards to the policies arise. One interviewee described the policies as “fluffy” (Anonymous, interview, 21 July 2017) as they are too broad and have led to detailed and various interpretation in implementation of projects. There is a big gap between the interpretation and implementation of the informal trading policies. The policies are a functionality of intent and the interpretation thereof is different (Cohen, interview, 11 July 2017). There is a lack of integration between different policies that speak to the same space, and joint activities across the space. Informal trading does not stand on its own, and therefore should be included in the road reserve policies as well as in the public spaces policy (Jackson, interview, 7 August 2017). There needs to be more integration, and an improvement in the current approach to urban public space. Within the City’s administration, the older team members do not see a problem with the isolation of plans and broad policies, yet the younger employees see this problem (Jackson, interview, 7 August 2017).

The informal trading policies are not the only means of regulating informal traders. This is also seen in the classification of the roadway and the pavements as road reserves, which affects the vitality of the space. As seen in Figure 4.12a, an Erf in the inner-city of Johannesburg comes with the rights for property owners to build up until the pavement (Jackson, interview, 7 August 2017). This means that the standard building line is set to extend to and stop at the pavement. The pavement and the roadway make up the road reserve. Therefore, the pavements are spilt for the use of pedestrians and informal traders, as seen in Figure 4.12b. This spilt of the pavement is through the demarcation of informal trading locations by the Department of Economic Development (DED). Both activities fall within the road reserve, and as such are maintained and managed as a road reserve and not as a public space (see Figure 4.12c). Therefore, the definition of the space as a road reserve is not correct in addressing the needs of the collective public, including the needs of informal traders.

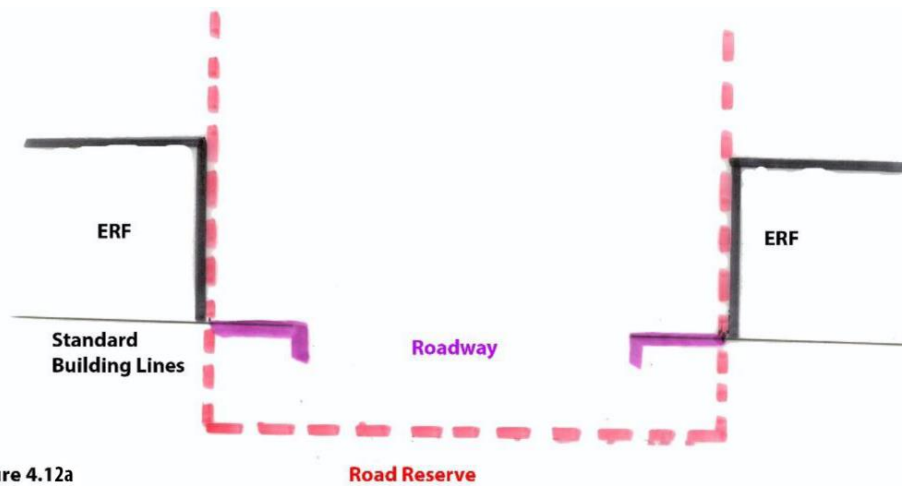


Figure 4.12a



Figure 4.12b

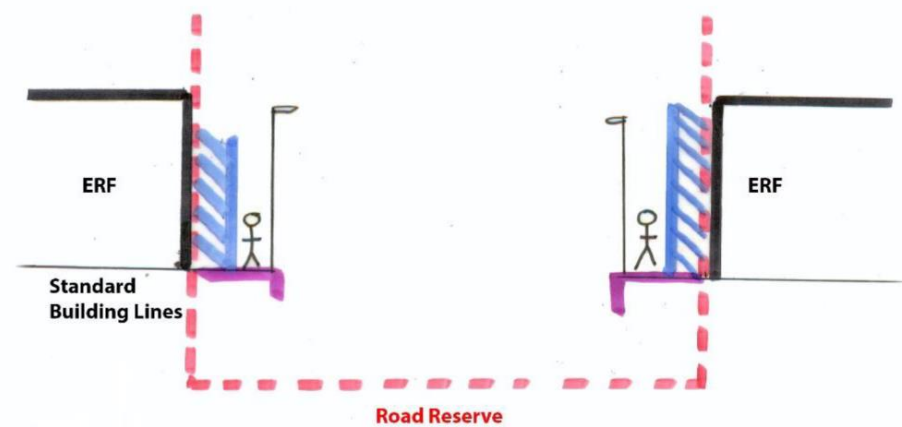


Figure 4.12c

Figure 4.12: Display of Road Reserve Elements within the inner-city of Johannesburg (Source: Authors Own, 2017. Based on Jackson, interview, 7 August 2017)

Various institutional bodies regulate these different elements of urban public spaces. This can be seen in the City of Johannesburg, as roadways are included in road reserves and are facilitated by the Johannesburg Road Agency. Open Public spaces in which there are a cluster of private companies, have formed CIDs (City Improvement Districts). These spaces are managed by the private sector.

Open green spaces however are managed by Johannesburg City Parks. This adds complexity in the formal and informal use of urban public space. These spaces are open to be used by the public, but also portray an image of the City. Therefore, in regulating these spaces, to effectively meet the needs of the collective public as well as informal traders, urban planning principles could be used to direct development, management and facilitation of these spaces.

How is infrastructure provided and facilitated for informal traders?

There are two tensions between the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) and the Department of Economic Development (DED) in terms of informal trade infrastructure and facilities provision. The JDA are on the ground and thus can see how many facilities are needed and how many traders are in the space (Cohen, interview, 11 July 2017). However, due to the DED being in charge of informal traders, their decision is final. In most cases the DED's number count or understanding of the number of traders on a street is much lower than the actual numbers (Cohen, interview, 11 July 2017) despite being the department that issues the licences. This affects the efficient provision of infrastructure for informal traders. Therefore, in project management that includes informal trade within the JDA's plan, only a few of the informal traders would be allowed to be planned for. This has raised tension between the informal traders and the JDA as only a few traders are given the support needed for these facilities.

A second is that the JDA employ their own engineers to do the designs of stalls, an example of these stalls is seen in image 5. However, these plans have been cancelled by the DED before, since the DED have and prefer standardized designs. In addition to this tension, there are different traders who sell different items, who require different stalls and different types of stands. In providing the informal traders with the same stalls and stands, different needs are not being met. This decreases the choice that informal traders have in making use of their trading spaces. The spaces are less robust and accommodate the standard needs of informal traders, which have mostly been for display purposes. However, there is a question as to whether the City can afford to cater for the various individual interest of informal traders. While there are a diverse number of needs for informal traders, there are also the needs of the general public who make use of these spaces. Therefore, in addressing the needs of traders, a sustainable plan in which the needs of traders are addressed, while including open channels of communication between the City and Informal traders.

Due to the lack of communication between the City and informal traders, informal traders are confused about where to go when a tap is broken or when the shelter that they have has fallen apart (Webster, interview, 26 July 2017). Operation Clean Sweep was grounded in the mentality of getting rid of crime and grime (Webster, interview, 26 July 2017). The stigma that informal traders were responsible for elevated crime and grime in the City has shaped many people's perceptions of the

inner-city of Johannesburg, in which there are masses of informal traders lining the streets. However, the City is mandated to provide traders with cleaning facilities. Thus, the provision of bins and services to pick the waste up needs to be more efficient (Webster, interview, 26 July 2017). In addition to which the documentation on the number of traders should be monitored more regularly. If the City is managing and regulating informal traders, the enforcement of this should be done properly and periodically (Steffany, interview, 9 August 2017).

Through the City Improvement Districts (CIDs) there has been a provision of infrastructure for informal traders. On Kerk Street, as seen in image 4, the shelter was provided for informal traders. Along with security and cleaning staff. The CIDs have ensured that drainage pipes and manholes along the roads and pavements are kept clean from rubbish waste. Which tend to be used to dispose of cooking oil and cooking wastes by informal traders who cook on the side of the road (Masipa, interview, 11 August 2017). The Johannesburg Road Agency (JRA) have arrived at a point where they cannot fix the same blockage and drainage problems multiple times, due to unhygienic and ill practices of informal traders. Therefore, CIDs have worked on ensuring that the areas are cleaned properly, and disposal of waste are completed adequately.

The city has proposed new sites within the inner-city of Johannesburg where transport nodes will be built, while also looking into the improvement of facilities of other transport nodes (Mafune, interview, 7 August 2017). The locations of these proposed upgrades and proposed new transport nodes were not mentioned. Current regulation and facilitation of current informal trader's sites have not optimally met the needs of traders, nor have they opened up new opportunities for traders. This has opened up questions as to whether future developments of transport nodes would effectively meet the needs of informal traders.



Image 4.3: Metro Mall Building structure. The space provides shelter and facilities for informal traders. However, there is space for improvement of this structure and space. (Source: CoJ, 2002).



Image 4.4: Kerk Street Market Shelter Structure for informal traders (Source: Urban Joburg, 2013)



Image 4.5: On Delver street there are a few of these trading stall structures available for informal traders (Source: CoJ, 2009)

What urban planning principles and guidelines have been used in directing development?

Spaces between buildings in urban areas are deemed road reserves, whose function is first to cater for the needs of mobility for motorists and pedestrians (Jackson, interview, 7 August 2017). Pavements are not public space, but are part of the road reserve. Road reserves have different set of parameters, compared to public spaces. Policies on road reserves do not deal with informal trade, but allowing and planning for these spaces to be flexible to include informal trading would make a great difference (Anonymous, interview, 21 July 2017).

Spaces on pavements in the case study areas were demarcated by DED for informal trade. Then it was up to CRUM to manage the number of traders in those spaces, yet interviewees reported that the DED makes it difficult when they have stalls and multiple marked areas for informal traders (Mafune, interview, 7 August 2017). This is made increasingly difficult by the pavements and roads being classified as a road reserve. There appears to be a lack of communication between the different stakeholders in planning for informal trading spaces and facilities.

Good planning should take informal trade into consideration (Anonymous, interview, 21 July 2017). It is the design of the spaces between buildings, between the roads and the buildings that is needed. The planning and designing of stalls and infrastructure needs to be second to this (Anonymous, interview, 21 July 2017). This is because the spaces play an important role in allowing different usage of the space. Infrastructure and facilities should follow such planning and design. Informal trading planning and regulation, do not appear to be undertaken using urban planning principles and

methods. Yet there could be potential in the development and success of informal traders, if such principles are used (Jackson, interview, 7 August 2017).

4.3.2 Informal traders' experiences

What are the informal trader's' experiences within the informal sector in the inner-city of Johannesburg?

Informal traders are eyes on the street, therefore improving safety and feel of safety on streets (Anonymous, interview, 21 July 2017). Such trading is also a means of increasing people's chances of survival and improving their livelihoods. These opportunities provide the urban poor and unemployed with a chance to do something in assisting their family and themselves (Chikie, interview, 24 July 2017). Interviewees reported a sense of community within these spaces. In some cases, this might not be a means of inclusion of everyone, but these networks vary and there are many of them (Informal trader 2, interview, 24 July 2017). These networks also provide a sense of support for the informal traders.

In many cases informal traders do not only form a community with other informal traders, but the network also extends and includes their regular customers as well. At Metro Mall, the ladies who sell cooked foods receive support primarily through the taxi drivers (informal trader 1, interview, 24 July 2017). However, in recent years competition from illegal informal traders who have started trading outside the Metro Mall have placed pressure on the legal trader's' efforts in making a profit (Informal trader 1, interview, 24 July 2017). This has placed strain on their ability to pay rent. In complaining about these issues and reporting it, the informal traders reported that communication with the City is increasingly difficult. The informal traders at Metro Mall mentioned that the last time they had effective communication with the City had been October 2016.

This is the main strain that these traders have felt, as it makes their work unprofitable, despite their commitment to legal trading. They are frustrated because they could be doing the same thing in setting up illegal stalls on the outside of the rank. However, they have made an effort in registering and paying rent monthly. This also increases their strain which is already considerable. Two informal traders stated that they travel together from Orange Farm South of Johannesburg, leaving home at 4am to be at the taxi rank at 5:30 am. They only leave the City to go home just after 18:00. This is repeated Monday to Saturday, and sometimes on a Sunday.

In Kerk Street the main goods that are sold are fruits, vegetables, bags, clothes and smaller daily convenience items. There are also a few fast food stalls (food is prepared and cooked on site) and hair dressers. There were a few traders on the site, who were unable to participate in the research due to not owning their own stalls. This was found to be a common trend among informal traders, with

licenced informal traders use this licence as a means of gaining an income through a different channel, other than trading. This is done through renting of their stalls to other informal traders who do not have a licence or employing someone else to manage the stalls. At Kerk Street the informal traders mentioned that there were fewer networks. There was a mix of nationalities among the traders on this street. Unlike at Metro Mall, there were no water supply points or electricity, nor were there toilets or spaces for storage (Chikie, interview, 24 July 2017). The research was conducted during the school holidays, and many women who are informal traders, had small children with them as they traded in the inner-city of Johannesburg. Many of the informal traders were not able to speak English or in some cases could not speak any local languages. However, they tended to have someone trading with them (or used a neighbouring trader) who help them communicate with other traders or customers.

At Delver Street the informal traders were predominately foreign traders. There was also a strong relationship and network between informal traders and the formal businesses on the same street. The informal traders sold mostly jeans, belts, fruits, and vegetables on the one side of the road while traders on the other side predominantly sold blankets, curtains, fruits and vegetables and sweets. On this street there were many pedestrians; this is due to the North Taxi terminal being close by as well as other businesses, such as second-hand clothing stalls on this street.

[What the current trends contributing to the success of informal trader's opportunities?](#)

In Metro Mall, traders had their own allocated stalls and in some cases, were able to share with other traders. For those traders who sold cooked foods, stalls were rented with prepaid electricity points and running water (Informal trader 2, interview, 24 July 2017). In Kerk Street a shelter had been provided for the informal traders through the RIDs. At all three sites there was a high pedestrian movement, which increased opportunities for selling goods.

Informal traders are organised by block leaders who are delegated to communicate to the Trader Organisations on behalf of those who are a part of the organisation within the site location. The CIDs provide support in terms of security and cleaning staff, which has increased pedestrian movement as well (Informal trader 2, interview, 24 July 2017). Informal traders provide support for one another and in purchasing goods from one another. Especially the day to day items, and cooked foods (Informal trader 2, interview, 24 July 2017).

[What are the factors reducing informal trader's opportunities?](#)

There are a few aspects that appeared to hinder growth and improvement of opportunities for informal traders. Some of these were of greater magnitude than others. Among these are the difficulties that informal traders face in not being informed on how to get hold of the City officials

(Informal trader 1, interview, 24 July 2017). There have also been cases of miscommunication between informal traders and the City. This is a result of the complex institutional structure, and communication break down between the policy makers and the policy enforcers (Webster, interview, 26 July 2017).

Interviewees reported that informal traders' organisations did not necessarily support the same ideas and causes. This lack of unity decreased the efficiency of organising support for the different causes. In addition to this was a lack of proper public participation between informal traders and other stakeholders. Informal traders said that they were rarely involved in the input sessions to changes spaces, especially in spaces that involve them (Webster, interview, 26 July 2017).

There had been promises from the City that informal traders would be granted development skills training; however, these have not materialised (informal trader 1, interview, 24 July 2017). In some cases when these were organised, they were during the hours that traders would need to be selling goods, during peak hour foot flow hours (Informal trader 2, interview, 24 July 2017). There is an interest in these development workshops and training sessions, however the timing and location of these events needed to be done with the consideration for the work patterns of informal traders. This is due to informal traders being unable to take 'leave from work', nor are all traders able have someone else take over their stalls. Therefore, inclusive planning that allows informal traders to voice their opinions would be helpful (Informal trader 3, interview, 24 July 2017). In addition to this is the fact that by definition, informal traders sell a range and variety of goods, and thus have different needs that might require different sets of skills development and planning.

One interviewee said that there was a perception that all informal traders would like to become formal business owners (Webster, interview, 26 July 2017). However, this is not always the case. Many do not earn enough to own a formal business. For others, becoming a formal business owner may not be the main aim of their trading. Some traders work for each day as it comes, and are not provided with a new opportunity or chance to elevate beyond earning enough for just each day as it comes.

4.4 Synthesis of Findings

This section displays the synthesis of the key findings. These will be used in the next chapter to answer the subsidiary questions.

Theoretical Lens	Subsidiary Questions	Key FINDINGS drawn from the performance of the City, private sector, civil society and Informal traders
Urban Livelihoods Perspective	How could people-centred and place-based strategies be useful in meeting the needs of informal traders?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> On a functional level, informal traders cannot be planned for collectively. The needs of informal traders vary from location to location. Even, within the same location informal traders have different needs. Informal traders have the linkages through networks across space and time.
	What opportunities do informal traders want to be given?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Informal traders would like to be given the right to trade and the opportunity to be a part of an effective system. Informal traders are keen to be registered but would like assurance that being registered would benefit their trade (Since registration would cost money). They would also like an opportunity to develop their skills and education, through specific programs for their needs. Informal traders need a safe place to work. They desire inclusion within policy making and to have open and effective communication with the City and management officials. In the case of JMPD, a sense of humanity should be given in addressing and engaging with traders. In addition, traders would like to see less corruption.
Urban Public Space Perspective	What aspects or character of the Johannesburg inner-city can be improved in facilitating informal trade?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Road reserves by definition include pavements, and this affects design and policy-making. Urban public space is limited within the inner City, but it tends to be ill defined.

Urban Planning Principles Perspective	How can urban planning improve opportunities for informal traders using urban planning principles?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Currently there are limited urban planning principles or guidelines used in the planning for informal trade. • Informal trade take shape through policy and by-laws, which do not use urban planning principles or are no clear set of values that structure and guide decision-making.
Institutional Forces	What aspects of the local government structures have negatively affected informal traders?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is a lack of involvement from social development in informal trading planning and development. • There are multiple governing bodies who are responsible for informal trading. However, there is little evidence that these provide positive development of informal traders. • Effective connections between the various institutions are often weak. These connections merely exist because of the bureaucratic structures. • JMPD enforcement of the law lacks social elements in completing their duties in removing informal traders and patrolling spaces.
Regulatory Forces	How have informal trade policies secured development opportunities for traders?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Policies have been vague, with little to no direction given to development of informal trader's opportunities. • Policies appear to serve and protect the City more than planning or directing informal trade development. • Policies and actions from institutions do not match up. While policy is progressive, actions taken are not equally positive.
Infrastructural Forces	How has infrastructure, or the lack thereof, affected informal trader's' livelihood strategies and opportunities for economic growth?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Infrastructure for informal traders cannot be standardised. Different informal trading activities require different structures. • The provision of public infrastructure is also important in the functioning of informal trade activities. These include street lights, lights within market place (Metro

		<p>Mall), dirt bins, repairs to and maintenance of roads and pavements.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The delivery of infrastructure is not systematic. This is a result of various City departments functioning in isolation.
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Table 4.1: Synthesis of findings according to subsidiary questions (Authors Own, 2017)

4.5 Key Factors affecting informal trader's opportunities

- The identification of pavements as part of the road reserve, does not help the integration of plans to meet the needs of the various users of the street and pavements
- The ambiguous nature of informal trader policies
- Informal trading infrastructure does not meet the needs of specific informal traders
- The lack of transparency from government regarding smart cards and informal trading licences
- The lack of acceptance from local government structures that informal trade is a legitimate economic activity
- The lack of communication structures between informal traders and City government
- There are too many institutional structures (not) taking care of informal traders
- There is a lack of acknowledgement on the number of traders in the inner-city of Johannesburg.
- There is a lack of consideration for informal traders within current spatial plans.
- Allocation of trading sites is not processed systematically.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter provided a range of key findings, analysis and discussion, as it identified and examined the forces affecting informal traders. In addition to this, the key factors affecting informal trader's opportunities were established. The next chapter establishes and develops recommendations to improve opportunities for informal traders. The findings used in this chapter will be used in the next chapter, in answering the research and subsidiary research questions of this study.

CHAPTER 5

Recommendations and Conclusion

The purpose of this Chapter

This chapter presents the proposed recommendations in addressing the factors affecting informal traders. First the chapter discusses the proposed urban planning principles which could be used in improving opportunities for informal traders. Figure 5.1 displays this process, which has been the main aim of this paper. Secondly, these principles are woven into the proposed policy recommendations directed to address institutional, regulation and infrastructure forces shaping and affecting informal trade. The chapter thereafter moves towards answering the subsidiary questions put forward through the literature review. The chapter concludes with limitations and a reflection on the research completed.

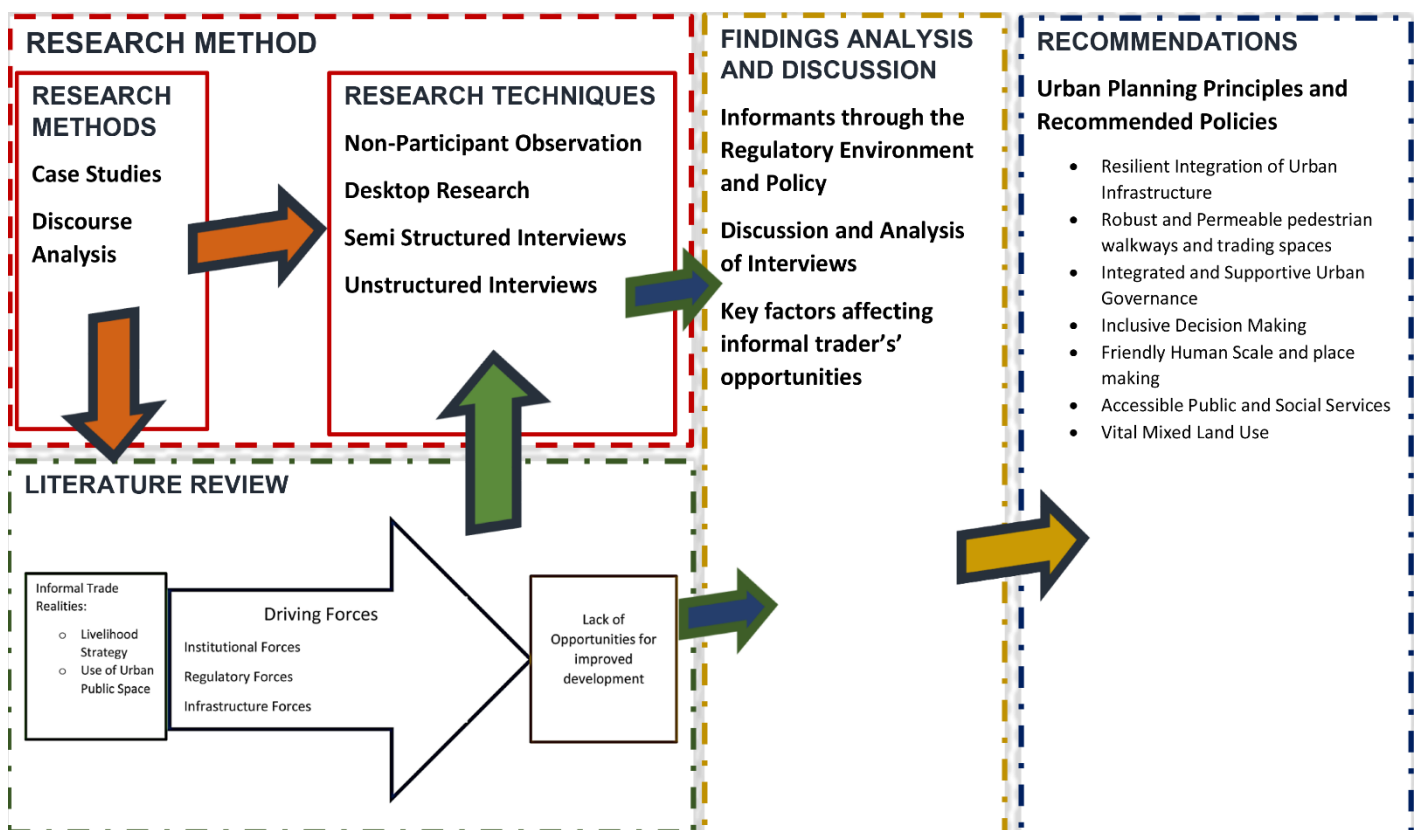


Figure 5.1: Representation of the recommendations within the research process (Authors own, 2017)

5.1 Urban Planning Principles

This section displays the urban planning principles that meet the performance dimensions mentioned in chapter 3. The performance dimensions used in chapter 3 were an ideal state of performance that urban space should embody to meet the needs of informal traders, while also ensuring that the needs of the collective are taken into consideration. This paper seeks to improve the primary operating characteristics and attributes of informal traders using urban planning principles. Therefore, these principles were drawn up using the findings of this research. The urban planning principles listed below were drawn up to address the factors that affect informal trader's' opportunities. These are recommended principles that can be used to improve such opportunities of development among informal traders. These are elaborated on thereafter, and then used relatively in drawing up policy recommendations. These urban planning principles are:

- **Friendly Human Scale and Place Making**
- **Resilient Integration of Urban Infrastructure**
- **Integrated and Supportive Urban Governance**
- **Inclusive Decision Making**
- **Accessible Social Services**
- **Robust and Permeable Pedestrian Walkways and Trading Spaces**



Friendly Human Scale and Place Making

This principle is a means of ensuring that spaces between buildings and, between buildings and pavements complement one another. According to Carmona (2010), the height of buildings is not necessarily of significance in achieving human scale.

What has proven to be important is the way in which the ground floor activities extend on to the pavement and public space. This provides a means of integration within the inner-city of Johannesburg, between informal and formal spaces. These improved interactions can be used to facilitate safety, as it improves eyes on to these busy spaces.



Resilient Integration of Urban Infrastructure

According to Lynch (1984) the vitality of a space is a means of ensuring that it supports the functioning of it for all users of the space. This principle is a process of ensuring that infrastructure implemented meets the needs of informal traders, as well as the other users of the public space. Resilient urban infrastructure provides sustainable infrastructure for long-term usage for all users of the space. This principle seeks efficiency in its use for different times of the day and

various weather conditions. This is a technique to establish a good fit between the different parts of a space. Therefore, modifications to the infrastructure in the inner-city of Johannesburg would require a better match between the patterns of movement of various pedestrians, usage of space by informal traders and the sustainable quality of infrastructure within these spaces.

Integrated and Supportive Urban Governance



This refers to the collaboration between departments within governance who regulate, manage and facilitate informal trade. This is a means of enhancing social justice through inclusivity of the various departments who are responsible for informal trade (Healey, 2003). Through better integration of urban governance, greater support for informal traders could be given. This integration would provide better planning through the different departments.



Inclusive Decision Making

This principle makes reference to the process of making decisions that impact the management, regulation and facilitation of informal traders. Inclusive decision making is a collaborative approach that is important in building new policy and plans that shape contemporary spaces (Healey, 2003). All stakeholders need to be consulted and various comments/opinions taken into consideration. These include the participation of informal traders. This principle is a means of encouraging governance connection and improved communication with informal traders, while also improving involvement of traders in decision making processes.



Accessible Social Services

This principle refers to the allocation of public and social services in spaces that are accessible for all. These include services within locations close to transport nodes and on pedestrian routes. For informal traders, improved access to these services within the inner-city would provide easier access to health, social and education services. According to Lynch (1984) improved access to goods, services, place and information with minimum time and efforts increases the vitality in the functioning of the space for the users. Informal traders spend long hours within the inner-city. Therefore, their access to desired services would be improved if those services were provided closer to them. In addition to which information sharing should be transparent and open for all informal traders on opportunities for social and skills development.



Robust and Permeable pedestrian walkways and trading spaces

This principle ensures that the spatial and constructional arrangements of individual buildings and public space complement one another. Pavements and public space, while providing pathways for pedestrian movement, are also ideal trading spaces for informal traders. These spaces are where people engage in collective life and hold the unique identity of that particular urban place (Behrens and Watson, 1996). Here the principle refers to the pavements and other pedestrian walkways within the city. These spaces should provide different usages of the space, even though they are temporal in usage. Secondly, pathways for pedestrian mobility should be enhanced through accessible streets and safe walkways. While providing pedestrians with permeable streets, informal trading stalls should be encouraged on these pathways through innovative ways. This brings the informal trade closer to customers, while encouraging the use of particular walkways.

(Proposed urban planning principles figure sources: Authors own, 2017; Microsoft Word Icon, 2016)

5.2 Recommendations

This section outlines and discusses proposed policy recommendations per an urban planning principle, as was mentioned in the previous section. These are mechanisms to improve opportunities for informal traders in the inner-city of Johannesburg, and to address the factors affecting informal traders, as mentioned in the previous chapter. Strategies are identified for each policy recommendation, to direct the recommendations towards addressing the factors affecting informal trade.

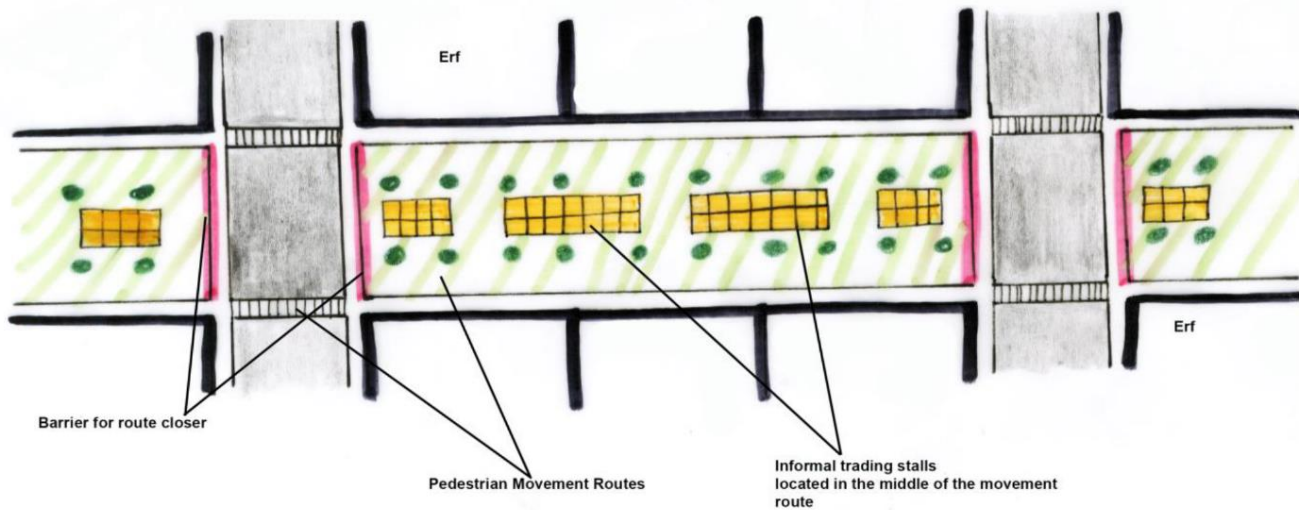
5.2.1 Urban Planning Principle: Friendly Human Scale and Place Making

Regulation Policy Recommendation: Improve place making and vibrancy within the inner-city of Johannesburg

Strategy: Close Delver Street to Motorist

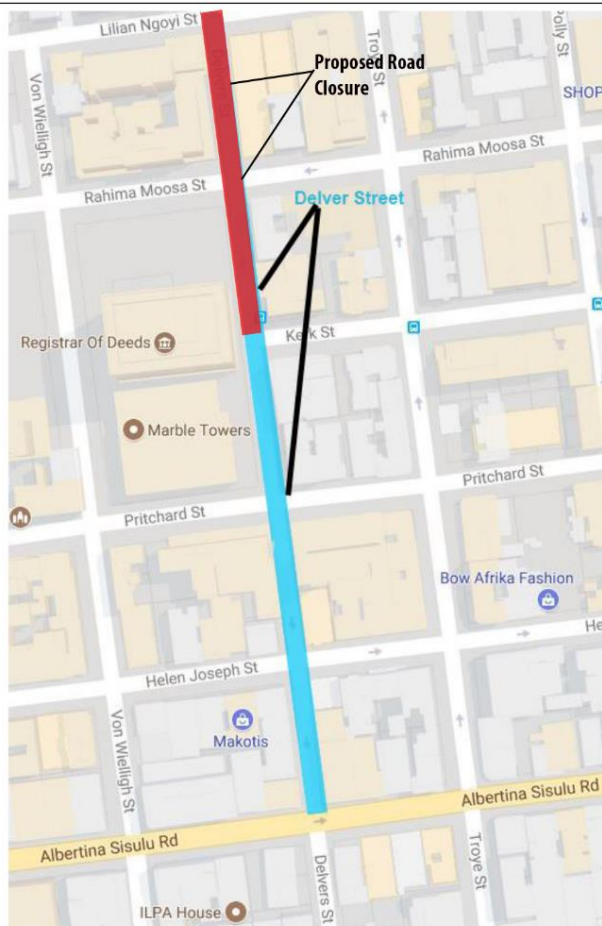


The closure of Delver Street had been an idea of the City in 2009 but had not been implemented (CoJ, 2009). This paper seeks to revive this plan, as a means of improving pedestrian and informal trader's spaces. The map in Figure 5.2 is the section of Delver Street in which this recommendation seeks to intervene, with a proposed road closure. This is a means of closing north-south moving traffic on Lillian Ngoyi and Kerk Street, and allow for east west traffic moving across those roads. This section of Delver Street receives high levels of pedestrian movement (JDA, 2010). Using urban design guidelines, this space would provide a means of safe pedestrian movement and allocations for informal traders. This movement of pedestrians would improve business for formal businesses in this location. This will also improve easy movement routes for pedestrians and improved access to customers for informal traders.



Above is the proposed layout design for Delver Street. This layout will provide an increase in informal trading location in the middle of the walkway. While also increasing pedestrian movement routes. This can be used in future for urban interventions, as mentioned later in this chapter. The east-west roadway is proposed to remain active for motorist movement.

Source: (Author adapted from Global Designing Cities Initiative and National Association of City Transportation Officials, 2016).



The map on the left displays the location of Delver Street and the section of the street that this recommendation seeks to propose closure to motorist movement. This would extend from Lilian Ngoyi and Kerk Street.

Source: (Google Maps, 2017)

Figure 5.2: Proposed closer of Delver street to Horizontal Motorist. Increased pedestrian movement and improvement of informal trading planning. Improved stalls provision (Source: Authors own, 2017)

Regulatory Policy Recommendation: Complete Street Structure

Strategy: Activate Frontages

Active frontages in this case refers to the physical engagement between the street users and the ground floor of buildings (Carmona, 2010). This is a means of creating a space for informal traders within the city. In addition to this, it enables traders to be a part of the building's facade. For existing property, owners who have building structures in place, activation of these buildings frontages could provide trading location for informal traders. This could be provided through the provision of infrastructure that meets the structural needs of informal traders, while not taking away from the functional needs of the property owners business.

This partnership would provide informal traders a fixed location. In addition to which, there would be more space on the pavement to accommodate other informal traders. The partnership can be established through the provision of infrastructure by the City. However, the permission to make use of a portion of the front wall of the ground level of buildings need to be granted by the property owner. These structures could be free standing, as seen in Figure 5.3 or attached to the wall. Figure 5.3 displays the visual divide of the streetscape with activated frontages. However, the support required for this to take place is between private owners of the space and informal traders. As well as the intervention of state governance in bargaining for this partnership. While CIDs are a means of improving private investment into public space, this recommendation seeks to be achieved in spaces where there are no CID agreements.

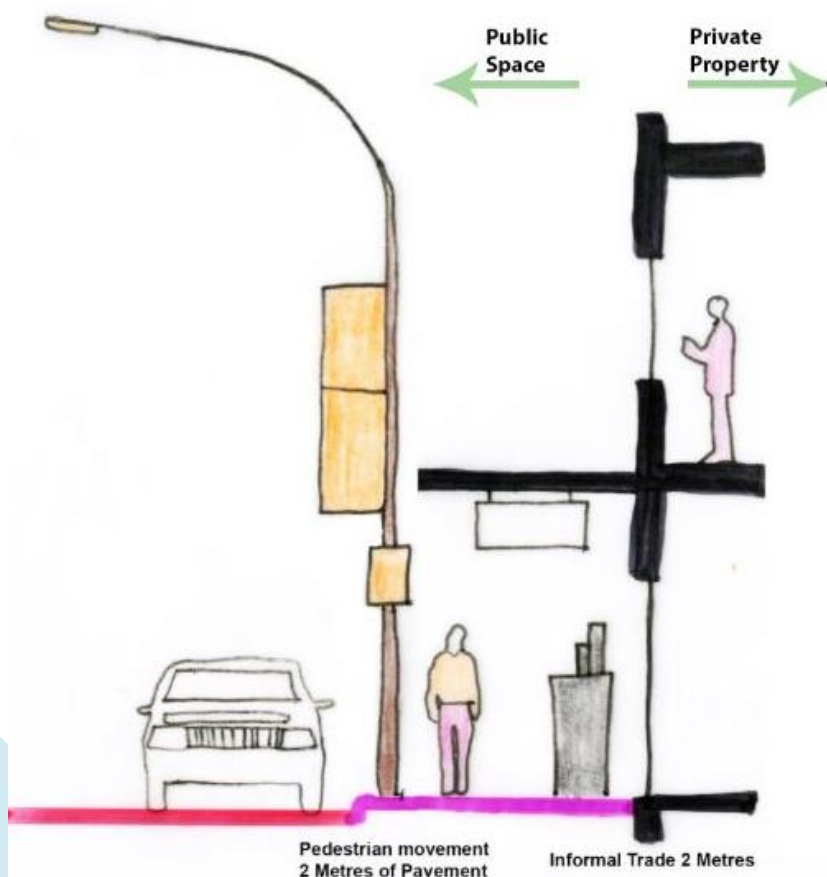


Figure 5.3: Property activated frontage to accommodate informal traders (Source: Authors own, 2017).

Strategy: Establish community enhancement

Urban public space should be celebrated. The inner-city of Johannesburg has always been a tourist attraction (CoJ, 2009). However, the image of the inner-city of Johannesburg has not been portrayed well. The city has been identified as congested, with crime and grime (Webster, interview, 26 July 2017). However, as discussed earlier, these issues are in the process of being solved. Nevertheless, in establishing community enhancement initiatives, urban acupuncture could be used to bring communities together. Pinpointed interventions could bring about reorder and sense of the city (Lerner, 2014). This sense of identity could be what is already present in the city, but an intervention could be used to enhance it.

“Transforming cities has to do with not only their physical features but also psychological, cultural, and many other factors.”

(Lerner, 2014:xiii)

Urban acupuncture is a means of making things happen. Even though forced, it could be focused, which could result in new energy being created, refer to Figure 5.4. This could be seen through inner-city runs, musical acupuncture, good recycling initiatives, broad band, photography competitions or even adjustments to the lighting within different spaces.

These interventions could be few but in their presence, provide a simulation for more. Such urban acupuncture is a means of bringing people into spaces who would not have before, because of the negative perception of the inner-city of Johannesburg. Through these planned activities, the inclusion of informal traders would improve business for them. While improving the image that they portray to people who do not come into the city regularly. This is a means of increasing activities within the city, yet also improving connections of informal traders to different customers. The tendency is for private events to include vendors who are registered and who are affiliated with the event. However, it is important to note that a wider inclusion of informal traders into these events is important. This is because they are a part of the social and cultural fabric of the city. Therefore, to exclude them from trading on days of the events would be exclusionary.



Urban Acupuncture through Christmas lights and evening markets. While these events become exclusive in trading hawkers, the inclusion of informal traders should be encouraged.

(Source: Makalima-Ngewana, n.d)



Open streets project could be encouraged with the inner-City Johannesburg. This could take place between public-private partnerships. In which the streets are closed to motorist movement for the day and pedestrian activities are encouraged for the day. Through this the informal trading activity could be a part of the trading services.

(Source: Street Plan, 2016)

Figure 5.4: Precedent Studies for Urban Acupuncture and Community enhancement projects

5.2.2 Urban planning principle: Resilient Integration of Urban Infrastructure



Infrastructural Policy Recommendation: Provision of adequate infrastructure for informal traders

Strategy: Through temporal and sustainable infrastructure

Informal traders require infrastructure to improve their functions on a day-to-day basis. While this is the case, sustainable infrastructure provides a means of seeking to meet the needs of informal traders for a long-term period. Implementation of sustainable informal trading infrastructure would also display the City's efforts to accept and plan for the economic activity. These include the provision of strong and durable stalls, and storage facilities. Examples of temporal and multi-use infrastructure to improve informal trading spaces are provided in the proceeding section of this chapter. Figure 5.5 displays installation of fixed stalls for informal trader. These structures are recommended for transport nodal areas, especially for future development of transport nodes. Figure 5.6 displays recommended temporal and potable stalls that would best function on street spaces. Figure 5.7 represents recommended improvement and provision for the Bovine Head Market on Gwigwi Mrwebi Street, Metro Mall. These facilities would also increase hygiene factors in the space. Figure 5.8 displays proposed infrastructural improvements and interventions to the street. Figure 5.9 proposes light infrastructure improvements. This lighting is recommended on all streets with high pedestrian movement.



These stalls are a means of providing shelter as well as storage units. These stalls could be implemented at Metro Mall, on Gwigwi Mrwebi Street.

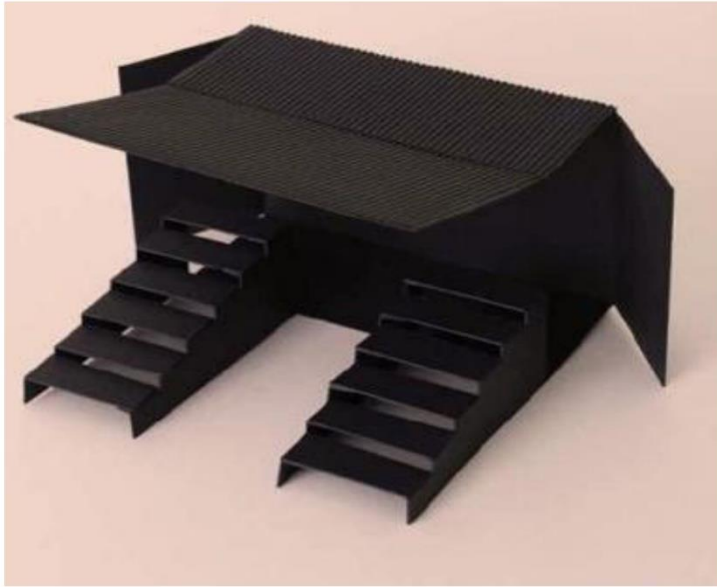
(Source: Trinchero, 2017)



These stalls are a means of providing the shelter and storage for informal traders. However, also provide counters over which customers can lean to when purchasing items. Provision of these stalls within future transport nodal designs and means of improving sustainable infrastructure at Metro Mall.

(Source: KZNIA, 2014)

Figure 5.5: Proposed informal trading stalls and storage as permanent stands



This stall which has been designed by Aleksandra Wasilkowska – Shadow Architecture, could be used as a display and storage unit for informal traders. These can be located at transport nodes and along streets that are broad enough.



These multi-use pieces of street furniture are used as stalls for the display of goods for informal traders. When there are no informal traders making use of the structures, people could sit on them. This would also allow for the space to be used for night markets, these stalls will still be available and not moveable. These are recommended for Kerk Street and Delver Street, as well as on narrow street pavements.

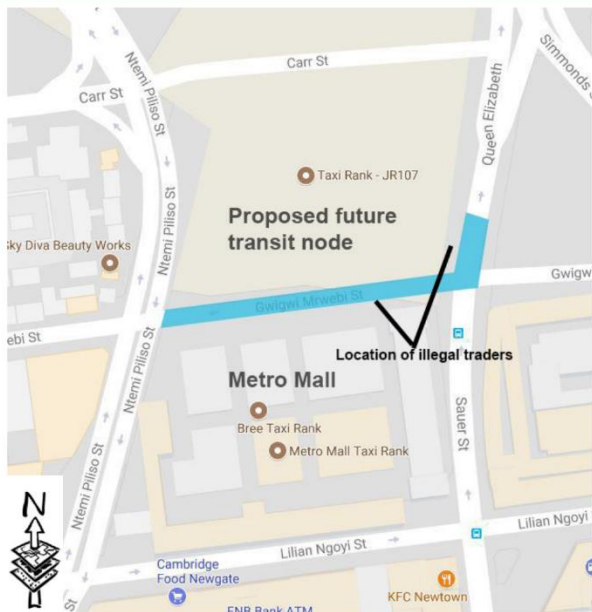
(Source: Authors own, 2017. Taken



These stalls can provide informal traders with the opportunity to store and move items, on the structure. These structures while using different material, could be made stationary pieces of furniture. These structures are known as barrows.

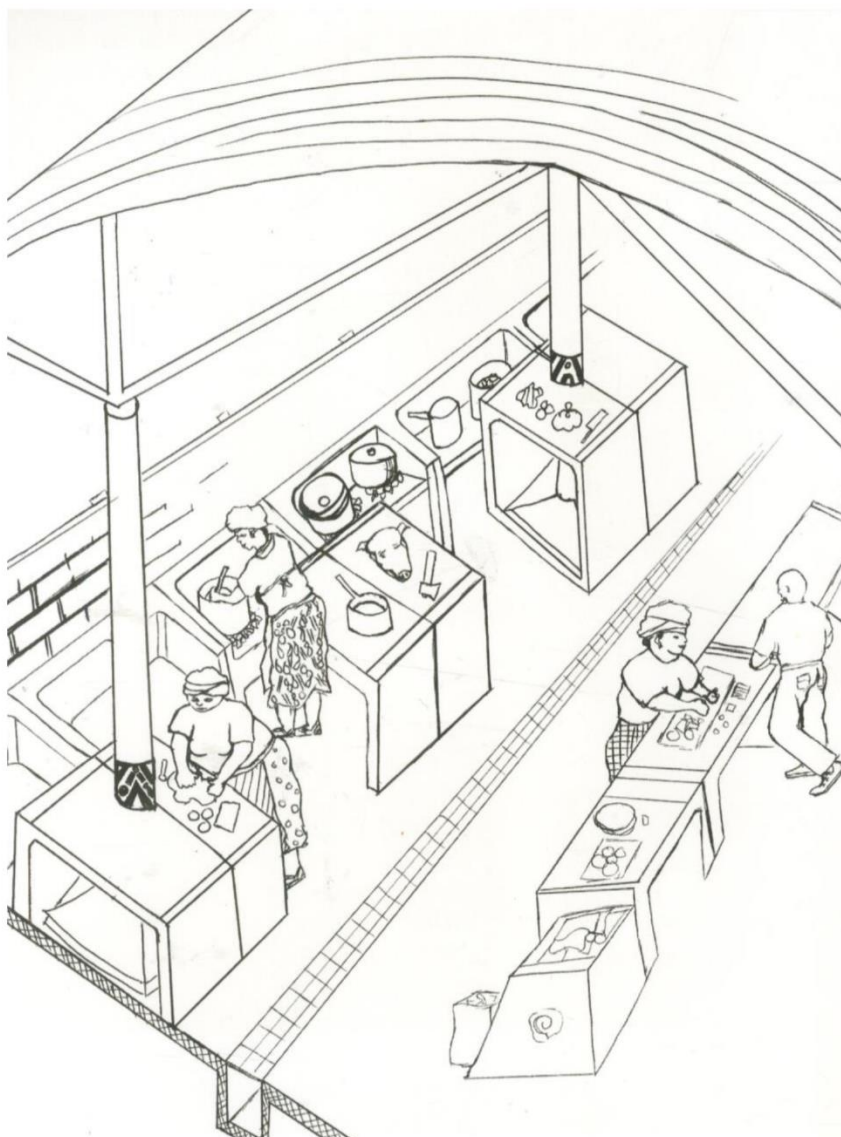
(Source: Breitz, 2014)

Figure 5.6: Proposed informal trading potable and temporal stall



To the left is the location of illegal traders on Gwigwi Mrwebi Street and on the corner of Queen Elizabeth Street. This location is behind the Metro Mall taxi interchange. The location on which the illegal traders are located, is a proposed future transit node (GIBB, 2015).

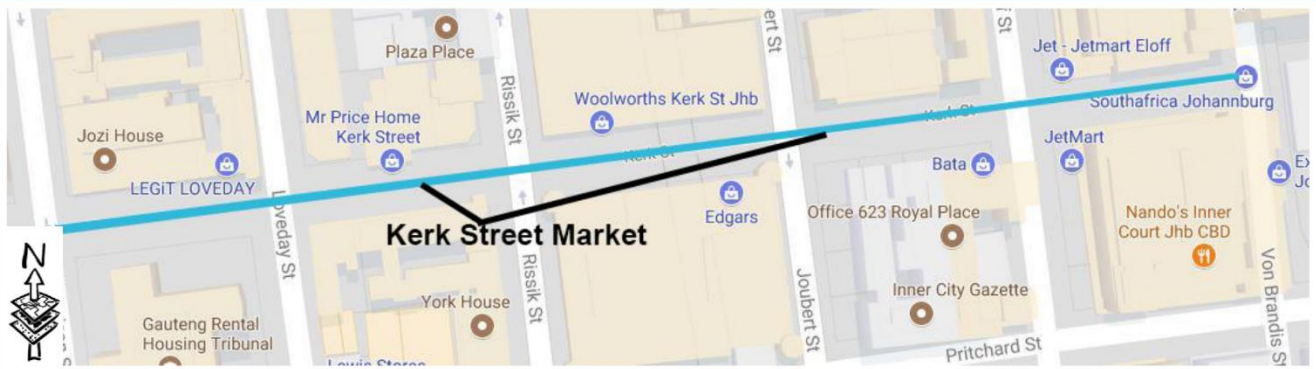
Source: (Google Maps, 2017)



To the left is a Bovine Head Market, that was designed and implemented at Warwick Junction in the Durban inner city. The diagram shows the cooking cubicles, serving tables and drain running between the two different allocations for traders. This is an example of the facilities that is needed at the Gwigwi Mrwebi site. This would provide a more safer and hygienic option for the trade.

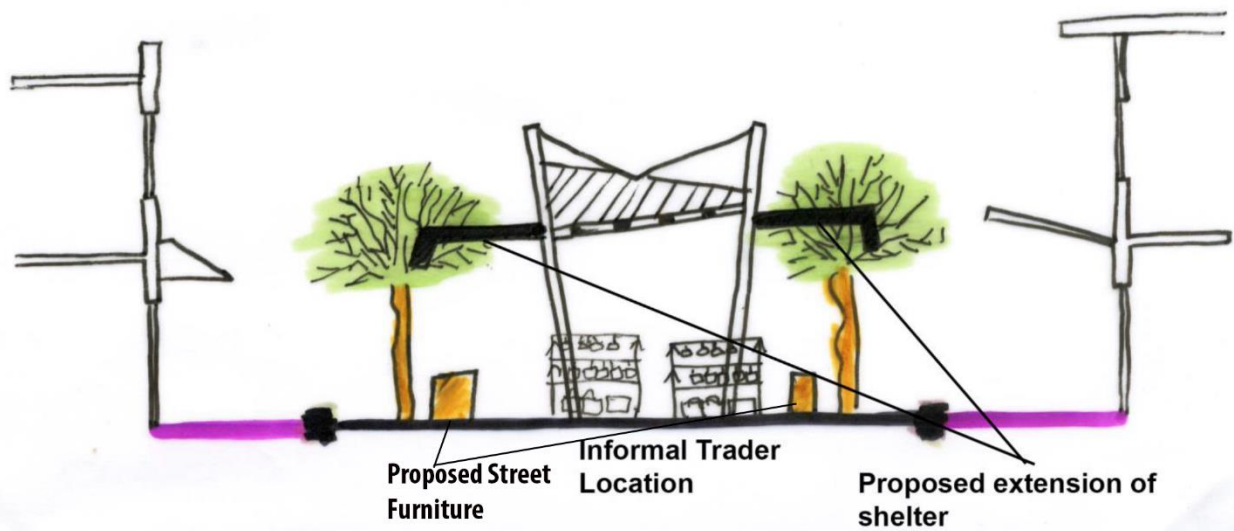
Source: (Dobson, Skinner and Nicholson, 2009:14).

Figure 5.7: Proposed infrastructure for Bovine Head Market on Gwigwi Mrwebi Street, Metro Mall



The above map indicates the location of Kerk Street Market within the inner-city Johannesburg.

Source: (Google Maps, 2017)



The above image is an indication of the proposed extensions to the current shelter. This would provide protection from rain for the informal traders operating on site.

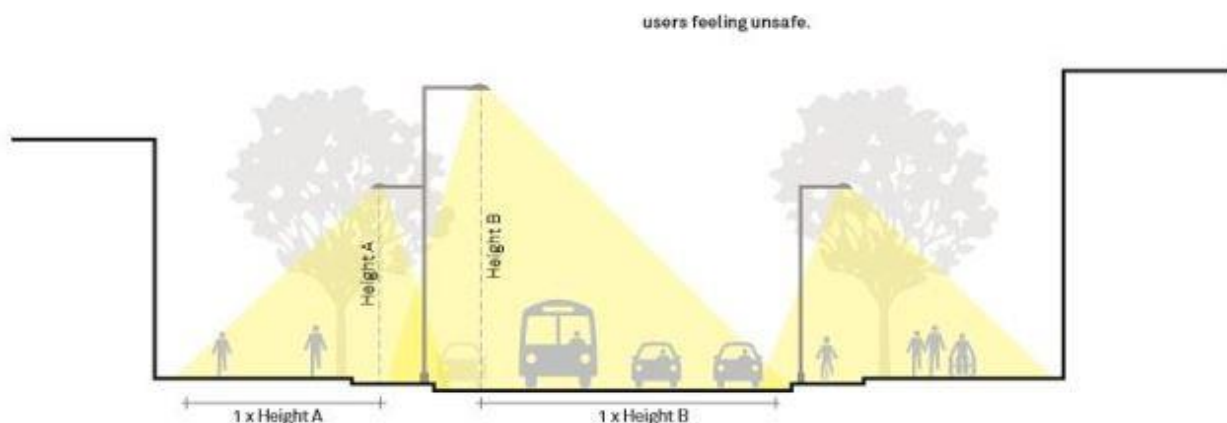
Source: (Authors Own, 2017)



This image displays street furniture for seating. An introduction of these structures in the Kerk Street market would provide pedestrians a space to stop when walking. This would serve as a draw card to attract people working in the area to make use of the space. This would also be means of attracting more business for informal traders during lunch time hours.

Source: (Global Designing Cities Initiative and National Association of City Transportation Officials, 2016).

Figure 5.8: Proposed changes to Kerk Street structure and urban public space



Through the provision of lighting for the street, there also needs to be a focused intervention on ensuring that light is provided for informal traders on pavements as well. This lighting also increases safety through the provision of being able to be seen on the pavement and on the streets.

Source: (Global Designing Cities Initiative and National Association of City Transportation Officials, 2016).

Figure 5.9: Proposed informal trading Lighting structures

Institutional Policy Recommendation

Strategy: Improved Census of informal trader's locations

According to Benit-Gbaffou (2015) a census of existing traders, reflecting their number and their location would improve implementation of projects and plans. Through the allocation of informal traders, places of current informal trading locations need to be identified first. This would assist the allocation of new trading spots. In the process of building this database up, the information on infrastructure available to traders need to be recorded as well. In addition to being aware of where current traders are located, the database needs to reflect the infrastructure available for traders. While also indicating who is provided with infrastructure and who is not. This database should also indicate the size of the allocated sites provided for informal traders. In addition to this, it should also provide the times that informal traders are there, street design and other important local context (Benit-Gbaffou, 2015). The process of allocating informal traders with trading location, requires this information for it to be successful. The generation of this knowledge should be completed through a database. This task should also be completed by independent surveyors and in partnership with civil society and block leaders. This will ensure transparency and neutrality to the census process (Benit-Gbaffou, 2015). This task is a means of improving planning for current and future needs of informal traders.

5.2.3 Urban Planning Principle: Integrated and Supportive Urban Governance

Institutional Policy Recommendation: An institutional shift in responsibility.



Strategy 1: Applications made to land use management department for trading licence and land allocation for trade.

The management of informal trading, especially in congested inner cities, has raised concerns of land use conflicts (Benit-Gbaffou, 2015). Applications for trading licences and land allocation are currently made to the DED. These tend to be planning issues rather than economic development concerns at a municipal level (Benit-Gbaffou, 2015). This responsibility should be given to the Department of Land Use Management. The Department of Land Use Management within the Department of Development Planning, seeks to achieve desirable and harmonious development of the built environment (CoJ, 2017). This is done through the system of legal requirements and regulations that apply to the land use. The processing of applications and granting permission by the Department of Land Use Management would provide more systematic response to the allocation of informal traders. The Department Land Use Management has the capacity to process these applications (Jackson, interview, 7 August 2017). While completing the registration application process, the Department could also allocate trading sites too informal traders and plan for the provision of facilities, where necessary.

Steps in the application process could be as follows:

1. Application for registration made to the Department of Land Use Management. (Once received, informal traders should be asked to come back to the department within 1-2 weeks.)
2. Process application by the Land Use Management Department.
3. Place information on a database for recording purposes
4. Provide informal traders with a licence and location, along with the allocation of facilities
5. Explain the process of rental payments, and the responsibilities that the trader has in respecting and maintaining the space in which they trade.

The Department would be best positioned to allocate sites for informal traders. Factors to consider would include the harmonious location of informal traders on pavements, within markets or in spaces that meet the needs of the traders, while also ensuring other land usage is adhered to. These include:

- Ensuring allocation of informal traders are in sites of high pedestrian movement.
- Ensuring that informal traders would be granted facilities and stalls which are appropriate for their trading needs.
- Ensuring that traders who require drainage and water for trading are in sites that provide for these needs. This would eliminate the use of the storm water drainage system for the drainage of waste.

While this strategy increases regulation of informal traders, it also increases systematic planning in terms of the location of traders and the provision of services.

Strategy 2: Improve lines of communication for urban management by the City

Ensure excellent communication between the Department of Land Use Management and CRUM, while improving communication between JMPD and the informal traders at the same time.

Through the administration of licences by the Department of Land Use Management, the allocation of traders should be communicated effectively with CRUM. This communication would ensure that urban management of informal traders by the JMPD through CRUM, would have precise knowledge of the informal trading locations. While enforcing the by-laws, JMPD through CRUM should be institutionalised better in terms of their interaction with informal traders.

Improvement of communication between the Department of Land Use Management and CRUM should include the communication with traders on how to apply for a licence to trade, if they are not registered. The enforcement of the law requires a more social element to it. This will include a clear communication channel of all the facts and the processes of application. Therefore, if traders are not registered, they could be directed to do so, while also gaining information as to why they are not registered. Through the enforcement of the by-laws a warning should be given to traders first, along with a guide on how to make an application, and information on the benefits of being provided with a licence. Through the enforcement of the law, the JMPD for internal knowledge also enquire as to why the informal trader does not have a licence. This should not be a justifiable reason for not being registered. However, if this is a recurring problem, the Department of Development Planning should provide a means of intervening.

Strategy 3: The Department of Economic Development undertake more economic development responsibility with regards to informal trade

There are currently different departments that undertake responsibility for the various elements of the informal trading sector. In most countries this is the case because there are many aspects to informal trade that cannot be completed by one department (Benit-Gbaffou, 2015). The DED while currently responsible for the facilitation and regulation of informal traders, could be provided with a delegated responsibility, as opposed to being given overarching responsibility of informal trade. The DED's responsibility for informal trade is an economic one. Therefore, the department should be allocated with the responsibility of ensuring economic growth and development of informal traders. While providing the DED with reduced responsibility over informal trade, their role could be focused more on economic development.

The department has drawn up a progressive informal trading policy. As the Department of Economic Development, its responsibility is to ensure economic, political and social well-being for its people (CoJ, 2015). However, it has not been proactive in the deliverance of services for informal traders. While handing the responsibility of the administration of licences and allocation of traders to the Development of Land Use Management, the DED could also focus on the economic growth of informal traders. This would provide the DED with less of a controlling role and more of an active economic role. As part of the current informal trading policy the DED undertake the responsibilities of part D of the policy. These include;

- Section 14 Training and Mentorship of informal traders
- Section 15 Incubation and Cooperatives Development

The sections of the policy are important elements to achieving economic development. As such through the administration of these responsibilities, the DED could focus their attention on the economic, political and social well-being of informal traders through these responsibilities.

Strategy 4: Improve line of communication between various municipal owned entities, City Departments, and informal traders

While the above delegation of various responsibilities are a means of ensuring that administrative and economic development are adhered to, there also needs to be an improvement in the communication between these different departments. This could be done through a database for shared information between the sectors. As well as meetings to discuss key issues. The line of communication needs to be open and the different departments should work on adhering to their mandated responsibilities. The informal trader's forum should take place on a state level, between departments, and between the state and the informal traders. These lines of communication should be made open through a means ensuring that informal traders are able to get hold of departments.

Strategy 5: Connection to be improved between the Department of Land Use Management and CIDs

CIDs provide a means of urban management within pockets of the city. This decreases the pressure placed on the City in managing informal traders. However, communication between the CIDs and the Department of Land Use Management should be improved on trading locations for informal traders. Therefore, CIDs should not have access to register informal traders. However, they should be able to assist informal traders with the process of becoming registered. Once registered they will be added to the database, mentioned before. CIDs should be granted access to the database, for the spaces that

they manage. Changes by them should be made on the allocation of infrastructure and services provided to traders.

5.2.4 Urban Planning Principle: Inclusive Decision Making

Institutional Policy Recommendation: Strive for democracy and diversity within urban public space

Strategy: Improved public-private partnerships



CIDs currently provide effective means of services and management of spaces. However, these partnerships could be improved through public-private partnerships. Firstly, these partnerships should be established for the private sector to gain an understanding of the different informal trader needs. Private sector could provide effective services and infrastructure to meet those needs of traders. Secondly, public-private partnerships could open lines of communication with traders and private sector. This communication could entail the various dynamics of informal trade and how private sector could assist in developing informal trader business. This might not be the case for all traders, but this would provide a platform for a few traders to be granted innovative and new ways of improving their businesses. Thirdly, this connection could bring about connections between the different sectors. This communication network could be established through meetings in a public space close to trading sites and at times convenient for the traders,

5.2.5 Urban Planning Principle: Accessible Social Services

Institutional Policy Recommendations: Improve networks for communication and learning

Strategy 1: Improved encouragement of skills development thorough NGOs and civil society groups



Trader Organisations could establish communication networks about the skills development that informal traders would like to receive, while also ensuring that all members voices of the different Trader Organisations are heard. NGOs and NPOs have a positive impact on hearing the complaints and concerns of informal traders. These organisations, like SERI, are aware of the daily concerns that informal traders face. It has been seen that Trader Organisation communicate better with NGOs and NPOs (Webster, interview, 26 July 2016). However, they are less connected with the government because those channels are not opened up. Through these NGOs and NPOs working with informal traders, information on the best skills development tools they require could be surveyed. While an improvement in the communication between informal traders and the City are improved through the informal trader's forums.

Strategy 2: Community Policing

Informal traders within urban public space, provide eyes on the streets. These traders improve safety within these public spaces. However, in terms of apprehending criminals in their areas of trade, this should be done properly. Dobson and Skinner (2009) note that traders can be made aware of the rights of suspects and how to apprehend them properly. This is especially the case in areas that are not managed by CIDs. While JMPD patrol the areas, this mechanism could be used for day-to-day operation of informal trading spaces. The South African Police Service (SAPS) and JMPD can provide traders with training on the rights of both traders and of all individuals. This training can improve safety for informal traders and pedestrians making use of the space.

5.2.6 Urban Planning Principle: Robust and Permeable pedestrian walkways and trading spaces

Regulatory Policy Recommendation: Complete Road structures to benefit informal traders and other users of the space



Strategy 1: Classification of pavements as public space

Streets are public places as well as connection routes (Zavestoski and Agyeman, 2015). Pavements in the inner-city of Johannesburg are busy with people walking or driving around. However, these spaces host various activities through different informal trading stalls that provide different character to the streetscape. The classification of roadways as part of the road reserve limits the frame of streets. There are economic and social aspects on the pavement that take place, regardless of the provision of services and infrastructure or not. Through the re-classification of pavements and roadways as public space in the inner-city of Johannesburg, the streetscape could be completed to meet the different user's' needs of the space, see Figure 5.10. This change in policy would result in a new spatial distribution of informal traders. Currently, not all informal traders are located on pavements nor do they have the infrastructure needed. Within these newly classified public spaces, the distribution of stalls and other infrastructure would improve trading conditions for most traders. While ensuring the needs of all traders and the collective public are met.

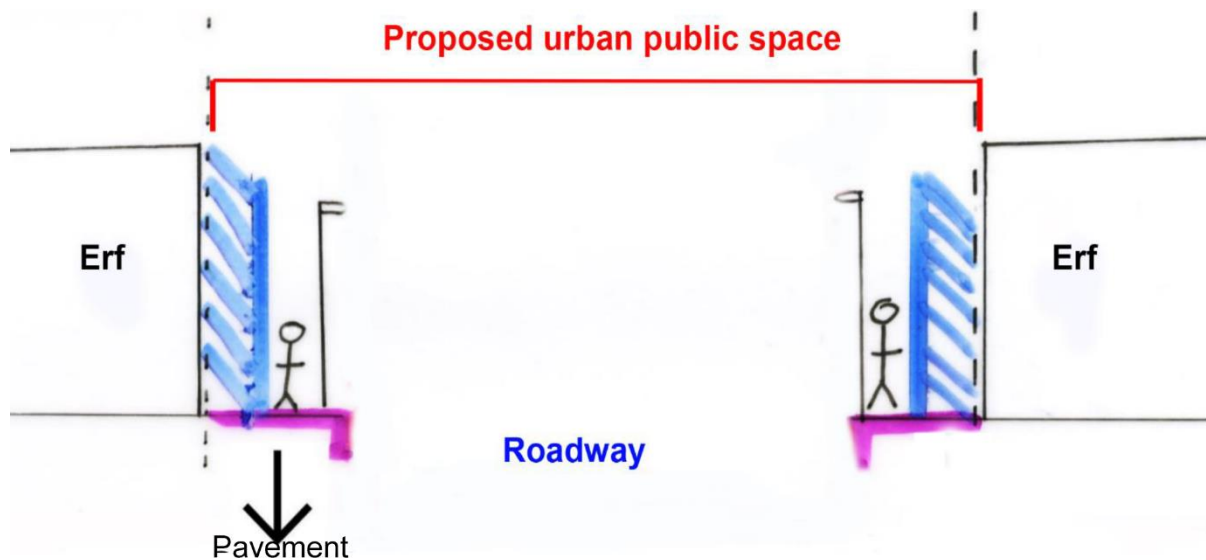


Figure 5.10: Proposed roadway and pavement space as public space (Source: Authors Own, 2017)

Strategy 2: Kerb Extensions

Kerb extensions are a traffic calming mechanism, while also improving pedestrian movement on the street (Global Designing Cities Initiative and National Association of City Transportation Officials, 2016). However, these adjustments to the road structure provide more space through an extension of the pavements, see figure 5.11. In providing an extension of pavements through kerbs, these spaces could increase trading locations for informal traders. In addition this would create space availability for active frontages of private property. These extensions could be used to support spatial distribution through out of the inner-city. While doing so, this could lessen the number of informal traders who are clustered in very high numbers in some areas. While informal traders see the benefit in being clustered in high volumes, there are positives to this strategy. Through the extension of the kerbs on streets with high pedestrian mobility, these kerbs would engage movement. This would increase the sense of safe streets, through less congestion in pedestrian movement. The extended kerbs would enhance, thereby bringing the customers to the traders. The barrows and temporal infrastructure recommended in Figure 5.6 could be best placed on these extended kerb spaces.

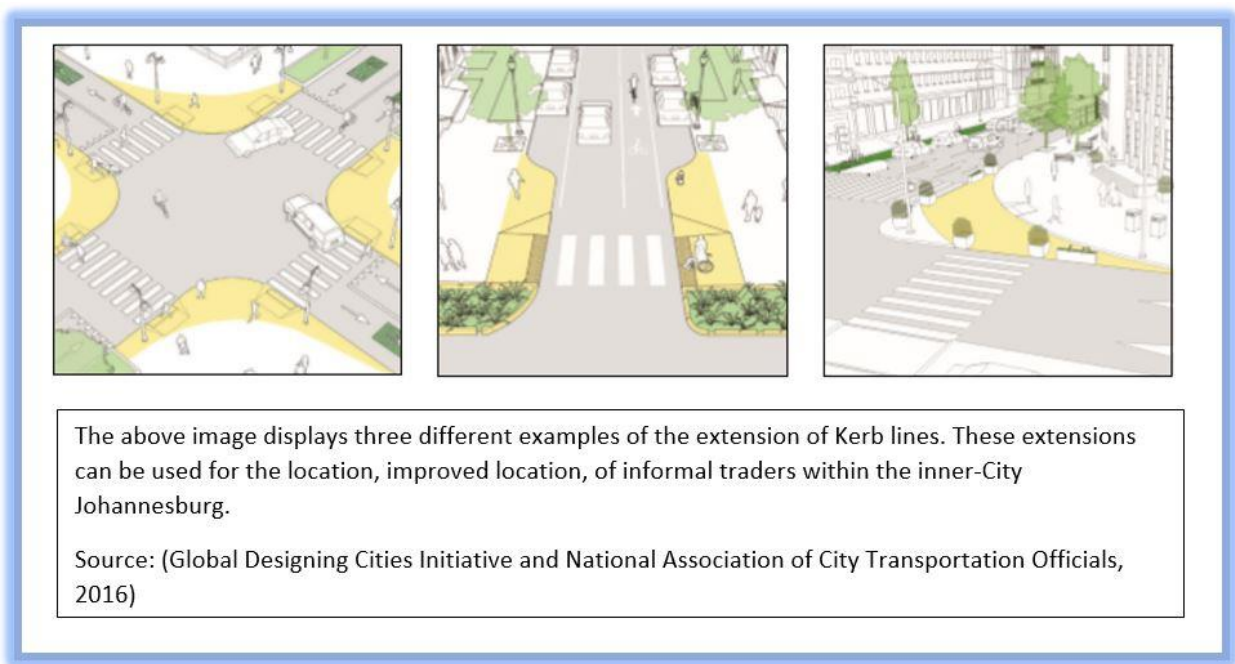


Figure 5.11: Kerbs on pavements extended to accommodate informal traders

5.3 Answering the Research Questions

This section of the chapter seeks to answer the subsidiary questions put forward in the literature review of this study.

5.3.1 How can urban planning improve opportunities for informal traders using urban planning principles?

This chapter had outlined six urban planning principles. These were put together with the performance dimensions used to evaluate the case studies. Through urban planning principles the spatial distribution of activities and people can be used to bring about positive change. These principles provide guidelines to direct future development towards accommodating informal trade. They provide current institutions with a strategic direction towards achieving positive action and decision-making with regards to informal traders. The principles are a means of influencing policy, and providing a spatial lens through which the policy can be directed. Urban planning principles can be used to direct and guide future development and adjustments made within urban spaces, with particular attention to informal trading spaces. These principles are a means of addressing the issues informal traders face, through strategic planning. These principles are a means of addressing various aspects relating to informal trade.

5.3.2 How could people-centred and place-based strategies be useful in meeting the needs of informal traders?

“Spatial policies are potentially valuable mechanisms for coordinating and focusing government action, yet they need to be grounded in economic realities and institutional capabilities.”

(Todes and Turok, 2017:3)

Spatial policy-making requires the planning of social networks and civil society to improve the inclusion of groups of people that would otherwise be excluded. Through people centred strategies, development of local capabilities across a city is encouraged. This strategy even though a positive development tool, is not specific or narrow in its focus. People centred strategies that speak to the development of skills and the potential of informal traders should be specific in their intention. This requires investment of time and effort from institutional structures, while focusing on the development potential of informal traders through a place based strategy. This places specific focus on the needs of traders within particular places. This strategy is a means of drawing on local knowledge and networks, and finding ways of improving or aiding the improvement of opportunities for informal traders in specific places.

In planning, the use of people-centred strategies provides a basis for identifying the needs of specific informal traders, while the specific social, cultural and institutional characteristics within a particular context to be considered. Therefore, people-centred and place-based strategies provide a means of developing valuable and meaningful spatial policies. Such policies would provide a medium through which focused interventions and implementation of projects could be directed to assist informal traders. In making use of these policies in implementing projects, the needs of specific informal traders could be met.

5.3.3 What aspects or character of the Johannesburg inner-city can be improved in facilitating informal trade?

Due to bureaucratic institutional structures there are different bodies in charge of various elements of the City. This is displayed in Johannesburg’s classification of the pavement to be part of the road reserve. This classification gives authority to the Johannesburg Road Agency in maintenance of the space. However, the pavement requires more than maintenance. There is a need for it be managed and maintained as a public space with social and economic value.

Informal trade has spatial, economic and social fluidity. Plans and policies that govern informal trade should not be a means of restricting and containing traders. Such are the outcomes of the by-laws.

Plans and policies for informal trade should be innovative from the grassroots level. These should include the informal traders and be progressive in providing meaningful delivery of services. In this process an effective relationship between the City and informal traders could be manifested.

The collection of rent payments should be open and through one mechanism of payment, that is standard. This would decrease corruption. There needs to be a clear line of communication on payments and purchasing of licences. Informal traders need to feel and know that they are a part of an effective system registered to trade through the City. Therefore, a means of protection from corruption is required. In addition, JMPD needs to be institutionalised differently. There needs to be an inclusion of a social nature in enforcing the by-laws.

5.3.4 What aspects of the local government structures have negatively affected informal traders?

The key issues arising from this has been the concentration of power to one person. This has raised issues of inefficiency and ineffective accomplishment of tasks. Second to this is the application for trading on Council owned land, which is made to the DED. This land use responsibility and spatial distribution of informal traders should be managed by a more spatial team. There are more effective means of managing and planning for informal trading, compared to how it is being currently run. Currently there is a disjuncture between informal traders and the City. In planning for informal trade, a social and spatial approach is needed, but this is not currently a core mandate within the DED.

5.3.5 How have informal trade policies secured development opportunities for traders?

The DED have put in place progressive policies and set out meaningful ways of improving opportunities for informal traders. However, they have been vague and cannot be translated into effective action plans. Therefore, the current informal trade policies are not a secure means of channelling growth and the development of opportunities for informal traders.

5.3.6 How has infrastructure, or the lack thereof, affected informal trader's livelihood strategies and opportunities of economic growth?

One of the issues with infrastructure is the lack of storage and stall facilities. In addition to this is the standardised structures that does not meet the needs of all traders. The City hasn't taken into consideration the different types of trading activities, which require different types of infrastructure, drainage and storage. The lack of proper infrastructure for informal traders provides them with the tiring mission of carrying their goods home and back each day. In other cases, traders have found alternative means of storage within the city, which has been helpful but not always effective.

5.4 Limitations to research

In completing this research, the researcher was based in Cape Town, with only a month in Johannesburg to complete data collection. While this was sufficient time to collect the needed research, there wasn't an opportunity for follow up interviews with informal traders as the research developed. Through the collection of data, there was not enough time to take photographs of the different sites.

At the time of conducting the research, the DED had been in the process of sorting out internal issues. They declined all interview invitations and email requests to meet or answer questions pertaining to the research. It was difficult to get hold of City officials to conduct interviews. However, the interviews that were conducted were used to their full advantage.

5.5 Reflection and Future Research

The topic of informal trade was chosen due the constant presence it has in urban spaces, with large numbers seen within South African cities. Growing up in various cities, I have noticed this and through my personal experience have seen how often these activities appear to be survivalist strategies. Informal trading is a stark reality, a survivalist reality, a livelihood strategy and an economic opportunity for traders. In addition, it is a purchase on the go opportunity with access to goods at a reasonable price to urban poor customers.

For me it had always been a reality. To have been able to complete my research on the topic provided me with an increased understanding of the importance that informal trade has within the economy and social life of the inner-city of Johannesburg. I have also gained appreciation urban planning, as a discipline and as a department within the City, could positively affect the distribution and functioning of these activities.

This research has sparked an interest in the intergenerational employment within informal trade, and whether stalls and trading is passed from one family generation to the next. The objective of the research would be to unpack the reasons why informal trade is passed from one family generation to the next, and how these could be improved to provide better economic opportunities for the families of the poor and unemployed.

5.6 Conclusion

Through this research, informal trade is seen to be a priority at national policy level, despite this it has not translated well on a local scale governance in Johannesburg. It is understood that there are not enough resources to meet all the needs of informal traders, in addition to the needs of the built environment in the inner-city of Johannesburg. However, through the implementation of the

recommended urban planning principles, governance actions and plans can be directed to effectively meet the needs of traders. While these principles do not meet the immediate needs of informal traders, they do establish:

- The reclassification of pavements and roadways as urban public space.
- The establishment of improved communication between informal traders and the government, and between informal traders and private sector.
- The provision of sustainable and temporal infrastructure for the use of informal traders. This provision of infrastructure while temporal, depending on the type of structure provided, means of storage and/or easy transportation of traders' goods. In some case's the provision of temporal infrastructure provides for mixed uses for informal traders and for pedestrians.
- The inclusion of informal traders in place making efforts
- Improved access to social services for informal traders in the inner-city of Johannesburg
- The integration of planning within urban governance and management through the acknowledgement of the reality of informal trade, which would establish the grounds for effective planning for informal traders.

The recommended policies put forward in this study, are a means of improving the long-term performance of the inner-city of Johannesburg urban public space. These are guided using urban planning principles as mechanisms to direct the actions and intentions of the current key driving forces affecting informal traders' opportunities. This study aimed to identify key responsibility of informal traders to be given to the Johannesburg City Council Department of Development Planning. While also ensuring that other departments such as the Department of Economic Development, are provided with a narrow focus on the economic development of informal traders. The shift is a means to improve the planning of urban public space through spatial, social and economic input.

A key understanding from this paper is as quoted:

“Street trading is here to stay, and in the street (can't be forced into markets); chase it away it keeps coming back.”

(Benit-Gbaffou, 2015:9)

Therefore, the delegation of responsibility and tasks to the relevant departments, and the provision of urban planning principles as guidance for development, can provide mechanisms to effectively plan improvements for informal trader's' opportunities in the inner-city of Johannesburg.

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Appendix 1

APPLICATION FORM


Please Note:

Any person planning to undertake research in the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment (EBE) at the University of Cape Town is required to complete this form **before** collecting or analysing data. The objective of submitting this application prior to embarking on research is to ensure that the highest ethical standards in research, conducted under the auspices of the EBE Faculty, are met. Please ensure that you have read, and understood the **EBE Ethics in Research Handbook** (available from the UCT EBE, Research Ethics website) prior to completing this application form: <http://www.ebe.uct.ac.za/usr/ebe/research/ethics.pdf>

APPLICANT'S DETAILS		
Name of principal researcher, student or external applicant		Lesley-Anne Jonathan
Department		School of Architecture, Planning and Geomatics
Preferred email address of applicant:		jnlles001@myuct.ac.za
If a Student	Your Degree: e.g., MSc, PhD, etc.,	MCRP
	Name of Supervisor (if supervised):	Associate Professor Tanja Winkler
If this is a research contract, indicate the source of funding/sponsorship		N/A
Project Title		Shaping productive inclusive urban public space: The case of Johannesburg inner City

I hereby undertake to carry out my research in such a way that:

- there is no apparent legal objection to the nature or the method of research; and
- the research will not compromise staff or students or the other responsibilities of the University;
- the stated objective will be achieved, and the findings will have a high degree of validity;
- limitations and alternative interpretations will be considered;
- the findings could be subject to peer review and publicly available; and
- I will comply with the conventions of copyright and avoid any practice that would constitute plagiarism.

SIGNED BY	Full name	Signature	Date
Principal Researcher/ Student/External applicant	Lesley-Anne Jonathan		25 May 2017 Click here to enter a date.

APPLICATION APPROVED BY	Full name	Date
Supervisor (where applicable)	Tanja Winkler	24 May 2017
HOD (or delegated nominee) Final authority for all applicants who have answered NO to all questions in Section 1; and for all Undergraduate research (Including Honours).	Toma Berlanda Click here to enter text.	Click here to enter a date. 25 May 2017
Chair : Faculty EIR Committee For applicants other than undergraduate students who have answered YES to any of the above questions.	G SITHOLE Click here to enter text.	23/7/2017 Click here to enter a date.

Appendix 2



SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE, PLANNING AND GEOMATICS

University of Cape Town

Private Bag x3, Rondebosch 7701

Centlivres Building

Email: Janine.Meyer@uct.ac.za Tel: 27 21 6502359

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

STATEMENT TO BE READ OUT TO AN INTERVIEWEE BY A STUDENT ABOUT TO UNDERTAKE AN INTERVIEW FOR THE PURPOSES OF RESEARCH, AS A REQUEST FOR PERMISSION FOR THE NAME AND/OR IDENTITY OF THE INTERVIEWEE TO BE REVEALED IN AN ESSAY/ REPORT/ DISSERTATION

A copy of the form can be given to the respondent if they request it.

MY NAME IS Lesley - Anne Jonathan
AND I AM STUDYING CITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN.

I AM DOING RESEARCH ON Planning Principles for the delivery of informal trading opportunities in the inner city
AS PART OF MY MASTERS PROGRAMME AND I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS TO HELP ME Public Space
WITH MY RESEARCH.

I WOULD LIKE TO USE YOUR NAME, DESIGNATION AND POSSIBLY DIRECT QUOTES IN MY ESSAY/ REPORT/ DISSERTATION AS A SOURCE OF INFORMATION. PLEASE INDICATE YES OR NO BELOW TO GIVE OR WITHOLD YOUR PERMISSION FOR ME TO DO THIS.

YES I GIVE PERMISSION FOR YOU TO USE MY NAME / DESIGNATION / WORDS IN YOUR DISSERTATION



NO I DO NOT GIVE PERMISSION FOR YOU TO USE MY NAME / DESIGNATION / WORDS IN YOUR DISSERTATION



IF YOU WANT TO END THE INTERVIEW AT ANY POINT YOU ARE FREE TO DO SO.

MY SUPERVISOR IS Dr Tanja Winkler, AND HER CONTACT DETAILS ARE: (021) 650-2360 or Tanja.Winkler@uct.ac.za.

or Tiaan Meyer

ltiaan@meyerandassociates.co.za.

Signature of interviewee

Signature of student

Date:

09.08.17



SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE, PLANNING AND GEOMATICS

University of Cape Town
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Centlivres Building
Email: Janine.Meyer@uct.ac.za Tel: 27 21 6502359

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

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A copy of the form can be given to the respondent if they request it.

MY NAME IS Lesley-Anne Jonathan
AND I AM STUDYING CITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN.

I AM DOING RESEARCH ON Planning principle for the delivery of informal trading opportunities in the inner-city public space.
AS PART OF MY MASTERS PROGRAMME AND I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS TO HELP ME WITH MY RESEARCH.

I WOULD LIKE TO USE YOUR NAME, DESIGNATION AND POSSIBLY DIRECT QUOTES IN MY ESSAY/ REPORT/ DISSERTATION AS A SOURCE OF INFORMATION. PLEASE INDICATE YES OR NO BELOW TO GIVE OR WITHOLD YOUR PERMISSION FOR ME TO DO THIS.

YES I GIVE PERMISSION FOR YOU TO USE MY NAME / DESIGNATION / WORDS IN YOUR DISSERTATION



NO I DO NOT GIVE PERMISSION FOR YOU TO USE MY NAME / DESIGNATION / WORDS IN YOUR DISSERTATION



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MY SUPERVISOR IS Dr Tanja Winkler, AND HER CONTACT DETAILS ARE: (021) 650-2360 or Tanja.Winkler@uct.ac.za.

or Tiaan Meyer
tiaan@meyerandassociates.co.za.

Signature of interviewee

Signature of student

Date: 2017/08/11



SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE, PLANNING AND GEOMATICS

University of Cape Town
Private Bag x3, Rondebosch 7701
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UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

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A copy of the form can be given to the respondent if they request it.

MY NAME IS Lesley-Anne Jonathan
AND I AM STUDYING CITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN.

I AM DOING RESEARCH ON Informal trade in public urban spaces in the inner SJIB and How Planning
AS PART OF MY MASTERS PROGRAMME AND I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS TO HELP ME principle
WITH MY RESEARCH. could improve these opps

I WOULD LIKE TO USE YOUR NAME, DESIGNATION AND POSSIBLY DIRECT QUOTES IN MY ESSAY/ REPORT/ DISSERTATION AS A SOURCE OF INFORMATION. PLEASE INDICATE YES OR NO BELOW TO GIVE OR WITHOLD YOUR PERMISSION FOR ME TO DO THIS.

YES I GIVE PERMISSION FOR YOU TO USE MY NAME / DESIGNATION / WORDS IN YOUR DISSERTATION

☒

NO I DO NOT GIVE PERMISSION FOR YOU TO USE MY NAME / DESIGNATION / WORDS IN YOUR DISSERTATION

☐

IF YOU WANT TO END THE INTERVIEW AT ANY POINT YOU ARE FREE TO DO SO.

MY SUPERVISOR IS Dr Tanja Winkler, AND HER CONTACT DETAILS ARE: (021) 650-2360 or Tanja.Winkler@uct.ac.za. + Tiaan Meyer

Signature of interviewee

Signature of student

Date: 7 Aug 2017.



SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE, PLANNING AND GEOMATICS

University of Cape Town
Private Bag x3, Rondebosch 7701
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Email: Janine.Meyer@uct.ac.za Tel: 27 21 6502359

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

STATEMENT TO BE READ OUT TO AN INTERVIEWEE BY A STUDENT ABOUT TO UNDERTAKE AN INTERVIEW FOR THE PURPOSES OF RESEARCH, AS A REQUEST FOR PERMISSION FOR THE NAME AND/OR IDENTITY OF THE INTERVIEWEE TO BE REVEALED IN AN ESSAY/ REPORT/ DISSERTATION

A copy of the form can be given to the respondent if they request it.

MY NAME IS Lesley Anne Jonathan
AND I AM STUDYING CITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN.

I AM DOING RESEARCH ON Informal trade in public Urban Space in the inner JHB, and How
AS PART OF MY MASTERS PROGRAMME AND I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS TO HELP ME Planning
WITH MY RESEARCH. principles could improve these opp's

I WOULD LIKE TO USE YOUR NAME, DESIGNATION AND POSSIBLY DIRECT QUOTES IN MY ESSAY/ REPORT/ DISSERTATION AS A SOURCE OF INFORMATION. PLEASE INDICATE YES OR NO BELOW TO GIVE OR WITHOLD YOUR PERMISSION FOR ME TO DO THIS.

YES I GIVE PERMISSION FOR YOU TO USE MY NAME / DESIGNATION / WORDS IN YOUR DISSERTATION



NO I DO NOT GIVE PERMISSION FOR YOU TO USE MY NAME / DESIGNATION / WORDS IN YOUR DISSERTATION



IF YOU WANT TO END THE INTERVIEW AT ANY POINT YOU ARE FREE TO DO SO.

MY SUPERVISOR IS Dr Tanja Winkler, AND HER CONTACT DETAILS ARE: (021) 650-2360 or Tanja.Winkler@uct.ac.za + Tiaan Meyer

Signature of interviewee

Signature of student

Date: 7/08/2017



SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE, PLANNING AND GEOMATICS

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Centlivres Building
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UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

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A copy of the form can be given to the respondent if they request it.

MY NAME IS Ledey-Anne Jonathnan
AND I AM STUDYING CITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN.

I AM DOING RESEARCH ON Informal trade in public urban space in the inner SHB, and How Planning Principles
AS PART OF MY MASTERS PROGRAMME AND I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS TO HELP ME could
WITH MY RESEARCH. improve these opp's

I WOULD LIKE TO USE YOUR NAME, DESIGNATION AND POSSIBLY DIRECT QUOTES IN MY ESSAY/ REPORT/ DISSERTATION AS A SOURCE OF INFORMATION. PLEASE INDICATE YES OR NO BELOW TO GIVE OR WITHOLD YOUR PERMISSION FOR ME TO DO THIS.

YES I GIVE PERMISSION FOR YOU TO USE MY NAME / DESIGNATION / WORDS IN YOUR DISSERTATION

☒

NO I DO NOT GIVE PERMISSION FOR YOU TO USE MY NAME / DESIGNATION / WORDS IN YOUR DISSERTATION

☐

IF YOU WANT TO END THE INTERVIEW AT ANY POINT YOU ARE FREE TO DO SO.

MY SUPERVISOR IS Dr Tanja Winkler, AND HER CONTACT DETAILS ARE: (021) 650-2360 or Tanja.Winkler@uct.ac.za. + Tiaan Meyer

Signature of interviewee

Signature of student

Date: 7/08/2017



SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE, PLANNING AND GEOMATICS

University of Cape Town
Private Bag x3, Rondebosch 7701
Centlivres Building
Email: Janine.Meyer@uct.ac.za Tel: 27 21 6502359

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

STATEMENT TO BE READ OUT TO AN INTERVIEWEE BY A STUDENT ABOUT TO UNDERTAKE AN INTERVIEW FOR THE PURPOSES OF RESEARCH, AS A REQUEST FOR PERMISSION FOR THE NAME AND/OR IDENTITY OF THE INTERVIEWEE TO BE REVEALED IN AN ESSAY/ REPORT/ DISSERTATION

A copy of the form can be given to the respondent if they request it.

MY NAME IS Lesley-Anne Jonathson
AND I AM STUDYING CITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN.

I AM DOING RESEARCH ON Planning Principles for the delivery of
informal trading opportunities in the university public
AS PART OF MY MASTERS PROGRAMME AND I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS TO HELP ME space.
WITH MY RESEARCH.

I WOULD LIKE TO USE YOUR NAME, DESIGNATION AND POSSIBLY DIRECT QUOTES IN MY ESSAY/ REPORT/ DISSERTATION AS A SOURCE OF INFORMATION. PLEASE INDICATE YES OR NO BELOW TO GIVE OR WITHHOLD YOUR PERMISSION FOR ME TO DO THIS.

YES I GIVE PERMISSION FOR YOU TO USE MY NAME / DESIGNATION / WORDS IN YOUR DISSERTATION



NO I DO NOT GIVE PERMISSION FOR YOU TO USE MY NAME / DESIGNATION / WORDS IN YOUR DISSERTATION



IF YOU WANT TO END THE INTERVIEW AT ANY POINT YOU ARE FREE TO DO SO.

MY SUPERVISOR IS Dr Tanja Winkler, AND HER CONTACT DETAILS ARE: (021) 650-2360 or Tanja.Winkler@uct.ac.za.

or Traan Meyer
traan@meyerandassociates.co.za.

Signature of interviewee

Signature of student

Date: 26 July 2017.



SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE, PLANNING AND GEOMATICS

University of Cape Town
Private Bag x3, Rondebosch 7701
Centlivres Building
Email: Janine.Meyer@uct.ac.za Tel: 27 21 6502359

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

STATEMENT TO BE READ OUT TO AN INTERVIEWEE BY A STUDENT ABOUT TO UNDERTAKE AN INTERVIEW FOR THE PURPOSES OF RESEARCH, AS A REQUEST FOR PERMISSION FOR THE NAME AND/OR IDENTITY OF THE INTERVIEWEE TO BE REVEALED IN AN ESSAY/ REPORT/ DISSERTATION

A copy of the form can be given to the respondent if they request it.

MY NAME IS Lesley-Anne Jonathian
AND I AM STUDYING CITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN.

I AM DOING RESEARCH ON Planning principles for the delivery of informal trading opportunities in the inner city public spaces
AS PART OF MY MASTERS PROGRAMME AND I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS TO HELP ME WITH MY RESEARCH.

I WOULD LIKE TO USE YOUR NAME, DESIGNATION AND POSSIBLY DIRECT QUOTES IN MY ESSAY/ REPORT/ DISSERTATION AS A SOURCE OF INFORMATION. PLEASE INDICATE YES OR NO BELOW TO GIVE OR WITHOLD YOUR PERMISSION FOR ME TO DO THIS.

YES I GIVE PERMISSION FOR YOU TO USE MY NAME / DESIGNATION / WORDS IN YOUR DISSERTATION



NO I DO NOT GIVE PERMISSION FOR YOU TO USE MY NAME / DESIGNATION / WORDS IN YOUR DISSERTATION



IF YOU WANT TO END THE INTERVIEW AT ANY POINT YOU ARE FREE TO DO SO.

MY SUPERVISOR IS Dr Tanja Winkler, AND HER CONTACT DETAILS ARE: (021) 650-2360 or Tanja.Winkler@uct.ac.za.

or Traan Meyer traan@meyerandassociates.co.za

Signature of interviewee

Signature of student

Date: 24/07/2017



SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE, PLANNING AND GEOMATICS

University of Cape Town
Private Bag x3, Rondebosch 7701
Centlivres Building
Email: Janine.Meyer@uct.ac.za Tel: 27 21 6502359

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

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A copy of the form can be given to the respondent if they request it.

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AND I AM STUDYING CITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN.

I AM DOING RESEARCH ON Planning principles for the delivery of informal trading opportunities in the inner city public spaces
AS PART OF MY MASTERS PROGRAMME AND I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS TO HELP ME WITH MY RESEARCH.

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YES I GIVE PERMISSION FOR YOU TO USE MY NAME / DESIGNATION / WORDS IN YOUR DISSERTATION



NO I DO NOT GIVE PERMISSION FOR YOU TO USE MY NAME / DESIGNATION / WORDS IN YOUR DISSERTATION



IF YOU WANT TO END THE INTERVIEW AT ANY POINT YOU ARE FREE TO DO SO.

MY SUPERVISOR IS Dr Tanja Winkler, AND HER CONTACT DETAILS ARE: (021) 650-2360 or Tanja.Winkler@uct.ac.za or Baon meyer baon@meyerandassociates.co.za

Signature of interviewee

Signature of student

Date: 24/07/2017



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I AM DOING RESEARCH ON Planning Principles for the delivery of informal trading opportunities in the inner-city public spaces.
AS PART OF MY MASTERS PROGRAMME AND I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS TO HELP ME WITH MY RESEARCH.

I WOULD LIKE TO USE YOUR NAME, DESIGNATION AND POSSIBLY DIRECT QUOTES IN MY ESSAY/ REPORT/ DISSERTATION AS A SOURCE OF INFORMATION. PLEASE INDICATE YES OR NO BELOW TO GIVE OR WITHHOLD YOUR PERMISSION FOR ME TO DO THIS.

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IF YOU WANT TO END THE INTERVIEW AT ANY POINT YOU ARE FREE TO DO SO.

MY SUPERVISOR IS Dr Tanja Winkler, AND HER CONTACT DETAILS ARE: (021) 650-2360 or Tanja.Winkler@uct.ac.za or braam meyer
braam meyer and associates. co.za.

Signature of interviewee

Signature of student

Date: 29/07/2017



SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE, PLANNING AND GEOMATICS

University of Cape Town
Private Bag x3, Rondebosch 7701
Centlivres Building
Email: Janine.Meyer@uct.ac.za Tel: 27 21 6502359

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

STATEMENT TO BE READ OUT TO AN INTERVIEWEE BY A STUDENT ABOUT TO UNDERTAKE AN INTERVIEW FOR THE PURPOSES OF RESEARCH, AS A REQUEST FOR PERMISSION FOR THE NAME AND/OR IDENTITY OF THE INTERVIEWEE TO BE REVEALED IN AN ESSAY/ REPORT/ DISSERTATION

A copy of the form can be given to the respondent if they request it.

MY NAME IS Lesley-Anne Jonathan
AND I AM STUDYING CITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN.

I AM DOING RESEARCH ON Planning Principles for the delivery of informal trading opportunities in the inner city public space
AS PART OF MY MASTERS PROGRAMME AND I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS TO HELP ME WITH MY RESEARCH.

I WOULD LIKE TO USE YOUR NAME, DESIGNATION AND POSSIBLY DIRECT QUOTES IN MY ESSAY/ REPORT/ DISSERTATION AS A SOURCE OF INFORMATION. PLEASE INDICATE YES OR NO BELOW TO GIVE OR WITHOLD YOUR PERMISSION FOR ME TO DO THIS.

YES I GIVE PERMISSION FOR YOU TO USE MY NAME / DESIGNATION / WORDS IN YOUR DISSERTATION



NO I DO NOT GIVE PERMISSION FOR YOU TO USE MY NAME / DESIGNATION / WORDS IN YOUR DISSERTATION



IF YOU WANT TO END THE INTERVIEW AT ANY POINT YOU ARE FREE TO DO SO.

MY SUPERVISOR IS Dr Tanja Winkler, AND HER CONTACT DETAILS ARE: (021) 650-2360 or Tanja.Winkler@uct.ac.za

or Tiaan Meyer
biaan@meyerandassociates.co.za

Signature of interviewee

Signature of student

Date: 11 July 2017



SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE, PLANNING AND GEOMATICS

University of Cape Town
Private Bag x3, Rondebosch 7701
Centlivres Building
Email: Janine.Meyer@uct.ac.za Tel: 27 21 6502359

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Signature of interviewee

Signature of student

Date: 21/07/2017